

Sociology and Social . . . Research . . . AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

Distance Mechanisms of Stratification . . . 155
 PIERRE L. VON DEN BERGHE

Planning for Social Change 165
 MARY H. LYSTAD

Status: A Human Form of Tropism . . . 172
 EDWARD C. MCDONAGH

Comte's Position in Sociology 178
 RUSSELL MIDDLETON

Danish Institute of Social Research . . . 185
 HENNING FRIIS

Social Change in Pakistan 191
 K. SHAH AND J. B. EDLEFSEN

Concepts in Sociology for Students 200
 EMORY S. BOGARDUS

International News 209

Pacific Sociological Notes 210

Social Problems and Welfare 212 Social Theory and Research 221
 Peoples and Culture . . . 217

VOL. 44

JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1960

No. 3

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$3.50

SINGLE COPIES, 70 CENTS

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BIMONTHLY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
UNIVERSITY PARK, LOS ANGELES 7, CALIFORNIA

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$3.50

SINGLE COPIES, 70¢

Entered as second-class matter March 31, 1936, at the post office at Los Angeles, California, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Editor

Emory S. Bogardus

Managing Editor

Martin H. Neumeier

News Notes Editor

Thomas E. Lasswell

Associate Editors

Harvey J. Locke

George B. Mangold

Bessie A. McClenahan

Edward C. McDonagh

John E. Nordskog

James A. Peters

Georges Sabagh
Maurice D. Van Arsdol, Jr.

Melvin J. Vincent

University of
Southern California

Advisory Editors

Jessie Bernard.....*Pennsylvania State University*

Herbert Blumer University of California

Leonard Broom.....University of Texas

Ernest W. Burgess.....University of Chicago

F. Stuart Chapin.....University of Minnesota

E. Franklin Frazier.....Howard University

A. B. Hollingshead.....Yale University

Katherine Jocher.....University of North Carolina

Paul H. Landis.....State College of Washington

Andrew W. Lind.....University of Hawaii, Hawaii

George A. Lundberg.....University of Washington

Radhakamal Mukerjee.....Lucknow University, India

Meyer F. Nimkoff.....Florida State University

Stuart A. Queen.....Washington University

Pitirim A. Sorokin.....*Harvard University*

Leopold von Wiese.....University of Cologne

Kimball Young.....Northwestern University

Contributed materials which appear in *Sociology and Social Research* do not necessarily express the opinion or the policy of the editorial staff and publisher.

Articles published in this journal are indexed in *The International Index to Periodicals*, and abstracted in *Sociological Abstracts* and *Psychological Abstracts*.

PUBLISHED BY

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PRESS

UNIVERSITY PARK

LOS ANGELES 7, CALIFORNIA

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

January-February 1960

DISTANCE MECHANISMS OF STRATIFICATION*

PIERRE L. VAN DEN BERGHE
Harvard University

Many observers and students of race relations have pointed to an apparent paradox in the practice of segregation in the Southern United States and elsewhere. Although the majority of Southern whites believe in school segregation between Negro and white pupils, they have no objection to entrusting their children to colored servants.¹ At the height of Jim Crowism in the South, Negro nurses in charge of white children were admitted without question to "white" railway carriages, public parks, and the like.² Although many white Southerners would not think of inviting a Negro university professor to dinner in their home, they do not object to having their food cooked and served by a colored servant. To cite a more macabre illustration from another culture, Indian medical students in South Africa are not allowed to watch a postmortem examination performed on a white corpse, but that very corpse is sewed up after the autopsy by a black hospital attendant.³

Incongruous though such attitudes and practices may seem, the paradox is only apparent. As observed by several social scientists, the key to the problem is *social status*.⁴ As long as the social status of the "races" is unequal, segregation need not be enforced. In the field of "social therapy," the importance of the status variable in changing prevail-

* We are indebted to Professors Talcott Parsons and Gordon W. Allport for stimulating advice and criticism, but the responsibility for the views contained in this paper is entirely our own.

¹ Cf. Charles S. Johnson, *Patterns of Negro Segregation* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943), p. 118.

² Cf. Robert E. Park, *Race and Culture* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950), p. 241.

³ Cf. G. H. Calpin, *Indians in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Sheeter, 1949), p. 105.

⁴ Cf. Park, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-82, 232-33; Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), p. 582; G. W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954), pp. 234, 276, 319-23; J. Greenblum and L. I. Pearlin, "Vertical Mobility and Prejudice," in R. Bendix and S. Lipset, *Class, Status and Power* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 480-500.

ing stereotypes and attitudes has been demonstrated by many empirical studies.⁵ Contact per se does not reduce prejudice, but equal status contact does, barring conditions of competition whether real or perceived. In this paper we shall attempt to draw more general theoretical conclusions from these observations and findings.

The central concept to be used here is that of *distance* as a mechanism of stratification. Some form of distance is presumably a functional prerequisite in any social situation involving authority, hierarchy, or stratification. For analytical purposes, forms of distance can be classified as *spatial* (of which segregation is a notable instance) and *social* (e.g., etiquette and sumptuary regulations). No formal definitions of the two terms are required, as the meaning of the first term is self-evident, and the second term already has a long history in social science.⁶

Presumably, a combination of both forms of distance will be present in any hierarchical or authoritative situation, though in various combinations. Distance is a major mechanism of social control for the maintenance of authority and hierarchy. If everything else remains constant, close physical or social contact can be achieved only at a "cost" in authority and hierarchization.

In order to illustrate the generality of the above propositions, three examples will be given before drawing the implications of the concept of distance for the field of race and ethnic relations.

In the relations between the sexes in Western culture, "gallantry" is a form of social distance. It has been repeatedly observed that, at least in Western societies, the lower the status of women is in relation to that of men, the more punctilious the rules of gallantry are. In Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Latin America, where the status of women is the lowest of all Western countries, both gallantry and spatial distance (chaperonage, etc.) are the most developed. The reverse is true of the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries. Other European nations occupy an intermediate position; modern France, for example, still practices much gallantry (though hand-kissing is rapidly disappearing), but relatively little segregation of the sexes. The hope of some American women to revive gallantry while preserving a measure of status equality with men

⁵ Cf. M. Deutsch and M. B. Collins, *Interracial Housing* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951); Allport, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-81; D. M. Wilner, R. P. Walkley, and S. W. Cook, "Residential Proximity and Intergroup Relations in Public Housing Projects," *Journal of Social Issues*, 8: 45-69; F. T. Smith, "An Experiment in Modifying Attitudes Toward the Negro," *Teachers College Contributions to Education*, No. 887, 1943; M. Jahoda and P. S. West, "Race Relations in Public Housing," *Journal of Social Issues* 7: 132-39.

⁶ Cf. Park, *op. cit.*, p. 183; E. S. Bogardus, *Sociology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954), p. 536.

seems to be a forlorn Utopia. Similarly, as the status gap between the sexes decreases, differences in dress become less (sumptuary regulations are also a form of social distance). In the Islamic countries, the relatively low status of women is accompanied by a great amount of segregation.

The problem of authority of adults over children in the family, whether nuclear or extended, offers another illustration of the principle of distance. In order to maintain such authority, a combination of spatial and social distance is at work. Though spatial distance is minimal, some form of "segregation" in sleeping or eating arrangements is generally present. But social distance is of paramount importance here. Homans and Schneider have indicated that the child must show respect and restraint toward the adult who has authority over him—his father in patrilineal societies, his mother's brother in the matrilineal case.⁷

The military is another illustration of the institutionalization of distance. Since the military hierarchy is very rigid, a high degree of both spatial and social distance separates commissioned officers from the lower ranks. In the case of a peace-time army, spatial distance between officers and men is very great indeed. Living quarters, dining halls, recreation facilities, and the like are segregated. Whatever physical contact officers and men have is ritualized under a rigid etiquette known in the U.S. Armed Forces as "military courtesy." This etiquette, which most enlisted men (excepting a few old "accommodated" N.C.O.'s) find irksome and superfluous, is probably a "safety margin" intended for war-time conditions, when spatial distance breaks down to a large extent. Besides close physical contact under battle conditions, one of the two main kinds of social distance to which the Army resorts, namely, uniform differences (i.e., a form of sumptuary regulation), is also reduced in combat. Battle uniforms are nearly identical for all ranks in modern armies. Hence, etiquette remains as the principal mainstay of authority under the conditions which constitute the very *raison d'être* of military organizations. It is, therefore, little wonder that "military courtesy" should be cultivated in peace time to a degree which appears excessive to most people concerned.

In the above illustration, we have indicated that spatial and social forms of distance can be not only complementary, but also alternative to

⁷ Cf. G. C. Homans and D. M. Schneider, *Marriage, Authority and Final Causes*, p. 58. Interestingly enough, the authority relationship seems to preclude a close affective relationship to the same person. This finding is further corroborated by Bales' polarity between the "idea-man" and the "best-liked" man in his small group studies. Cf. T. Parsons, R. F. Bales, and E. A. Shils, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953), p. 147.

each other. As a further indication of this, it may be pointed out that the Navy, in which spatial distance aboard ships in peace time is by necessity lesser than in peace-time Army units on land, has an even more rigid etiquette than the Army. Furthermore, sumptuary regulations (another device of social distance) are much more pronounced in the Navy than in the Army. Whereas Army uniforms have become "democratized," the difference between the uniform of a sailor and that of a Navy officer is still very great. Given a like requirement for authority as between Navy and Army, it may be said that the Navy "compensates" for its lesser degree of spatial distance with a greater degree of social distance.

We can now turn to some implications of the above considerations for the field of race relations. In a previous paper we have suggested a typology of racial prejudice.⁸ We distinguish two ideal-types which we call *paternalistic* and *competitive*. The paternalistic type is characterized among other traits by the existence of a rigid and elaborate etiquette of race relations, and the relative absence of segregation. In the competitive type, the reverse relationship between spatial and social distance prevails: the etiquette is ill-defined and not complex, whereas segregation is pronounced.

In the paternalistic situation, where the type-role between members of different racial castes is the master-servant relationship, close physical and emotional ties between the castes prevail.⁹ Doyle and Park were among the first social scientists to recognize the crucial importance of etiquette in such an "accommodative" sort of race relations. Park defines etiquette as a social ritual which maintains social distance. Etiquette, concludes Doyle, makes a measure of cooperation possible by preserving rank and order of precedence between the groups in presence. Myrdal speaks of etiquette as one of the primary mechanisms of social control that permits intimacy of contact coupled with status inequality.¹⁰

When because of a complex of factors such as social and geographical mobility brought about by industrialization and urbanization, the paternalistic type of race relations breaks down, etiquette ceases to be an effective mechanism to preserve distance between the racial castes in presence. One of the requirements for an effective functioning of etiquette

⁸ Cf. Pierre L. van den Berghe, "The Dynamics of Racial Prejudice: An Ideal-type Dichotomy," *Social Forces*, 37: 128-41.

⁹ One of the important corollaries of these close ties is the prevalence of miscegenation under a system of institutionalized concubinage. Cf. Pierre L. van den Berghe, *ibid.*, p. 139.

¹⁰ Cf. Doyle, *op. cit.*, p. 171; Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 612; Park, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

is that the roles be *unambiguous*; this condition ceases to prevail when the traditional master-servant ties are disrupted. As the situation evolves toward what we have called the competitive type of race relations, segregation is introduced as an alternative means of maintenance of the caste hierarchy.

In the context of race relations, segregation and etiquette emerge, then, as two primary mechanisms of spatial and social distance, respectively. Both are aimed at preserving a caste hierarchy of socially defined "races."¹¹ In so far as etiquette and segregation in this case are both based on the ascriptive criterion of "race," they involve a "cost" in efficiency, at least in the sense of *Zwecksrationalität*. There is, however, an important respect in which etiquette and segregation are functionally different from each other. Etiquette involves a great measure of *functional differentiation* in the sense that members of the various castes perform tasks which are largely *complementary*. Segregation, on the contrary, involves a large degree of *segmentation without differentiation* in so far as tasks, facilities, and functions are *duplicatory* rather than complementary. If the "separate but equal" doctrine is applied, the "cost" of segregation is maximized. This fact is one of the reasons why the "separate but equal" precept has remained a Utopia, even when interpreted in purely physical terms, quite apart from subjective, psychological considerations.

If these considerations are correct, we can see that segregation involves an even greater "cost" in the efficiency of the social system than etiquette. Indeed, etiquette in a relatively stable, preindustrial, paternalistic type of society can perform a definitely adjustive function. To the extent that roles are ritualized and unambiguous, and that everyone "knows his place," race relations will be relatively stable and peaceful.¹² On the other hand, segregation in an industrial competitive society is inherently dysfunctional for the social system as a whole. The extent of "functionality" as between the two types of prejudice is one of the major differences between the paternalistic and the competitive types.¹³

¹¹ In the use of the term "caste," we follow the Warner-Dollard-Myrdal-Davis, and Gardner definition. Cf. John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), pp. 62-97; Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 674-75; W. L. Warner, "American Caste and Class," *American Journal of Sociology*, 42: 234. We dissent from Cox' usage of the term. Cf. Cox, *Caste, Class and Race* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1948), pp. 3-5, 427-28, 489-98, 539.

¹² This is *not* to say that "efficiency" in the sense of economic rationality will be maximized.

¹³ Cf. Pierre L. van den Berghe, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

We can now turn to two brief illustrations of etiquette and segregation as alternative mechanisms of color-caste hierarchization. It is a well-known fact that segregation in the Southern United States increased markedly after the Civil War. In the ante-bellum paternalistic South, the type-role between whites and Negroes was the master-slave relationship.¹⁴ This is, of course, not to say that *all* Negroes were slaves and *all* whites, or even a majority of whites, were slaveholders. But most Negro-white contacts up to Emancipation were of the master-slave variety. There was some spatial segregation between whites and Negroes, particularly for field slaves. But house servants lived in very close spatial contact with their masters, as chambermaids, concubines, "mammies," body servants, etc. They often lived in the "big house" of the plantation as members of the patriarchal household; the worshiped in the same churches as their masters; white and Negro children played together.¹⁵ It is far from our intention to romanticize the past and evoke images of happy singing slaves. But the fact remains that masters and slaves lived in comparatively close spatial symbiosis, and that most whites did not look with horror on physical contact with Negroes. Miscegenation was widely tolerated and frequent, though, of course, intermarriage was unknown.¹⁶ Nevertheless, there existed a rigid caste line, which, in the relative absence of segregation, was maintained by a complex etiquette. The Negro had to "know his place," exhibit the proper marks of subservience, use the appropriate titles in addressing whites. Ideally, he internalized his lower caste status, and accepted his master's estimate of his own worth.¹⁷

Of course, much of that etiquette has survived Emancipation in the South, particularly in the rural regions of the Black Belt. The Civil War, however, disrupted very abruptly the old master-slave relationship, with the result that the South moved from a paternalistic to a competitive type of race relations. With the subsequent migration of Negroes to cities, and the rise of industrialization in the South, the old etiquette, which was based on stable, highly particularistic and personalized ties,

¹⁴ Cf. Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 592-93.

¹⁵ Cf. C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 24-25; Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris, *Minorities in the New World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 89, 122.

¹⁶ Cf. Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-26; L. Wirth and H. Goldhamer, "The Hybrid and the Problem of Miscegenation," in Otto Klineberg, editor, *Characteristics of the American Negro* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), p. 267.

¹⁷ Cf. Myrdal, p. 701; Wagley and Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

became rapidly incompatible with the changing situation. The increased mobility of Negroes, both spatially and socially, made the crystallization of a new etiquette difficult.¹⁸ Whatever was left of the old etiquette was only a vanishing survival of another era. If the color-caste order was to be maintained, new mechanisms had to be devised.

One of these new mechanisms was the lynching of Negroes, which increased very rapidly at the end of the Civil War. Another mechanism was segregation. In his history of segregation, C. Vann Woodward rightly points out that the main wave of Jim Crowism did not set in until some twenty years after the end of the Reconstruction era. But some important aspects of segregation were introduced during the Reconstruction period, notably segregation in churches and in schools.¹⁹

The lull in the implementation of segregation between the end of the Reconstruction period and the wave of Jim Crowism of the 1890's is to be accounted for, in large part, by the fact that the "Redeemer" politicians were mostly members of the old slave-owning aristocracy, with a strong tradition of paternalism. With the downfall of this upper-class white rule, segregation and political disenfranchisement followed. Extralegal segregation anticipated even the most drastic Jim Crow laws.²⁰ A whole set of rationalizations was developed to justify segregation. Negroes were considered unclean, smelly, lascivious, and hence, the thought of close physical contact became abhorrent to most whites. Miscegenation was seriously condemned and probably much less common.²¹

A dramatic illustration of etiquette and segregation as alternative mechanisms of caste hierarchy is provided by the housing situation in American cities. In the older cities of the South, such as Charleston, South Carolina, which had a sizable Negro population before the Civil War, there is relatively little racial segregation in housing. Many Negroes live in back alleys near "white" houses, in what were formerly servants' quarters. In these cities, which are little industrialized, the traditional etiquette of race relations is still operative. This situation contrasts markedly with the high degree of residential segregation in the newer industrial cities of the South and in the Negro ghettos of the Northern cities. In these cities, conditions of rapid migration and industrialization prevent the establishment of a rigid racial etiquette.²²

¹⁸ Cf. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 119, 139; Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 611, 614.

¹⁹ Cf. Woodward, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15; Doyle, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-23.

²⁰ Cf. Woodward, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30, 38-39, 51-52, 66-69, 81-84.

²¹ Cf. Wirth and Goldhamer, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-74.

²² Cf. Wagley and Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-46.

From this very cursory examination of the racial situation in the Southern United States, we would suggest that etiquette and segregation are two main mechanisms of caste hierarchization in a multiracial society.²³ Segregation, the more "costly" of the two major mechanisms, was introduced as an attempt to salvage the color-caste system, which was undermined by the decay of the old etiquette. If these conclusions are correct, then it would be safe to predict that the present attack on segregation in the United States must lead to a decline in the importance of color as a criterion of hierarchization.²⁴

Another illustration of the shift from etiquette to segregation is the case of South Africa. The Cape Colony in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a paternalistic slave-owning type of society similar in many ways to that of the Southern United States, though on a much smaller scale. Masters and slaves lived in close, intimate physical contact. Miscegenation was common, and interracial concubinage was institutionalized. Masters and slaves worshiped together. Household servants often lived in the same house as their masters; female slaves did sewing and embroidery work together with their mistresses in the family parlor.²⁵

Yet, there was a rigid color-caste system, which was maintained by an elaborate etiquette of race relations with a wealth of terms of address.²⁶ With the abolition of slavery in 1834, the discovery of the diamond and gold mines later in the nineteenth century, and the large-scale industrialization and urbanization since the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, South Africa has moved steadily toward a competitive type of prejudice. Although, as in the Southern United States, relics of the old system of race relations can still be found, etiquette as a mechanism of caste hierarchy has been seriously undermined, and racial segregation has been substituted for it.

²³ Other mechanisms, such as sumptuary regulations, lynchings, and pogroms, may also be present, but are of secondary importance. Lynching in the American South, for example, seems to have been resorted to mostly when and where other mechanisms had been unsuccessful in preserving the traditional caste hierarchy, and when the breakdown of that hierarchy was perceived as a threat by the dominant caste. In that sense, lynching was a "last resort" mechanism.

²⁴ This is, of course, not to say that *racial prejudice* will disappear, but rather that a rigid system of color-caste will be seriously undermined, as, indeed, it already is.

²⁵ Cf. C. G. Botha, *Social Life in the Cape Colony in the 18th Century* (Cape Town: Juta & Co., 1926), pp. 45, 97; I. D. MacCrone, *Race Attitudes in South Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 69; J. S. Marais, *The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939), pp. 162-67, 169.

²⁶ Cf. Botha, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Sheila Patterson, *Colour and Culture in South Africa* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953), pp. 139-40.

Since 1948, the *apartheid* policies of the Nationalist Government have received much publicity. Because of space limitations, it is impossible to review all the segregation legislation passed by the South African Parliament. *Apartheid*, to be sure, represents a post-World War II intensification of the segregation doctrines, but it is merely a new label for a long-standing practice in South Africa. The *apartheid* program is the culmination of a trend that started with the establishment of Native Reserves under a British administration in the middle of the nineteenth century. By now, the wave of color-bar legislation and extralegal segregation has covered most aspects of life.²⁷

Contrary to the recent trend in the United States, South Africa has been moving toward increasing segregation in the last decade. But powerful economic and ideological forces militate against the long-range success of *apartheid*. In both countries, the built-in dysfunctional nature of racial segregation in an industrial society is well illustrated. Though segregation was introduced in both cases, at least in part, in response to changing conditions of industrialization and urbanization, segregation conflicts with certain functional prerequisites of any industrial society. Among these necessary conditions are mobility of the labor force, "rational" criteria of recruitment based on achievement and universalism, and functional differentiation, all of which are impeded by racial segregation.

Besides economic forces, segregation also undergoes a powerful ideological onslaught in the United States. South Africa, in spite of her relative cultural isolation, cannot escape a similar onslaught on *apartheid*. It seems, thus, that racial segregation, at least in a Western industrial society, truly contains the "seeds of its own destruction."

In summary, we have suggested that: (1) some form of distance, whether spatial or social, is basic to any situation involving authority, hierarchy, or stratification; (2) etiquette, i.e., social distance, and segregation, i.e., spatial distance, are basic mechanisms of hierarchization in a racial caste situation; (3) these two mechanisms have tended to vary in inverse relation to each other during the transition of multiracial societies from a paternalistic to a competitive type of race relations; (4) whereas etiquette in a preindustrial, paternalistic society can be an

²⁷ Cf. G. H. Calpin, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 33, 91, 169-71; G. M. Carter, *The Politics of Inequality, South Africa Since 1948* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958); E. P. Dvorin, *Racial Separation in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952); Leo Kuper, "The Control of Social Change, A South African Experiment," *Social Forces*, October, 1954.

adjustive mechanism, segregation in a competitive industrial society is inherently dysfunctional; (5) given the failure of both etiquette and segregation as mechanisms of color-caste hierarchization, physical appearance or "race" must decrease in importance as a criterion of status, at least in Western industrial societies. This does not mean, however, that racial prejudice will disappear in any foreseeable future.

INSTITUTIONALIZED PLANNING FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

MARY H. LYSTAD

Charity Hospital of Louisiana, New Orleans

Whenever a proposed social change impinges on the institutionalized patterns of a society, it meets with factors of resistance. "Vested interest" is the term used to designate the resistance to change, which is inherent in the institutionalization of roles in the social system, owing to the desire to maintain the gratifications involved in an established system of role expectations.¹ One apparent exception to this is in change which is itself institutionalized. Change resulting from scientific investigation is an example of this exception in our own society. The institutionalized value patterns allow for and encourage change in the cognitive content of various sciences. However, resistance to change may occur when attempts are made to alter culture patterns in order to implement these highly desired scientific findings.

This research is concerned with resistance to social changes that are precipitated by scientific findings in the field of social work. A community welfare organization, whose purpose is to plan for change in this field, was studied over a one-year period of time.² An examination was made of the types of activity engaged in by the organization and of the attitudes toward these activities held by its social-work staff members and lay community supporters during a recent year. This organization is the central planning body for eighty-three health, welfare, and recreation agencies in a city of over half a million population; it has nine staff members and 449 lay community participants.

¹ Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 491-93.

² For discussions by social workers of social changes emanating from advances in social work theory and method, see: Wayne McMillan, *Community Organization for Social Welfare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945); C. F. McNeil, "Community Organization for Social Welfare," in *Social Work Year Book*, editor, Russell Kurtz (New York: American Book-Stratford Press, 1954), pp. 121-28; Herbert Stroup, *Community Welfare Organization* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952).

The major hypotheses to be tested were the following:

1. This organization engages in fewer activities that directly involve commitment to social change than in those that involve no commitment to social change.

2. Participants in the organization who have stronger vested interests in the *status quo* are more opposed to commitment to social changes considered by the organization and see their role less as one of initiating change.

METHOD

The planning activity of the Community Council, as the organization will be referred to in this paper, is carried on by forty-eight work committees. These committees averaged 12.53 committee members and 1.50 staff members during the year studied, and they met an average of 4.00 times during the selected year.

Material to test the first hypothesis was obtained from a content analysis of the minutes of these committee meetings. The categories of analysis for *types of issues* presented were the six formal functions of the Community Council, as defined by its executive director:

1. Study of community welfare needs and resources;
2. Education of its own constituency and the general public concerning welfare problems;
3. Coordination of welfare services in the community;
4. Planning for better utilization of existing welfare services;
5. Planning for new welfare services;
6. Social action pertaining to welfare practices and services.

The first three of these functions have been labeled "public relations" functions, since they are primarily designed to set the stage for an intelligent and sympathetic discussion of planning. The latter three functions have been labeled "planning" functions, since they do involve activity that directly shapes the direction and force of change.

The categories of analysis for *types of response* to these issues were the two distinct processes evidenced in committee participation:

1. Discussion: The committee weighs the pros and cons of the various facets of a problem without arriving at any specific path of action.

2. Decision: The committee agrees to take intermediary action (i.e., setting up another special committee) or final action (i.e., making a specific recommendation to the community group involved or carrying out a specific program) in the working out of a problem.

These two processes show a differential involvement in social change, the former being a necessary prerequisite to the achievement of workable change programs, the latter being the point at which such programs begin to be actualized.

The unit of count used was each topic mentioned in a committee meeting, the topic being the smallest individual problem brought up for committee consideration. The topic could be one aspect of an issue or the issue seen as a whole. Each topic was classified by type of issue and type of response. Most committees dealt with several types of issues in terms of both types of responses. A reliability check over time on the coding method was made by the same coder on a ten-per-cent sample of the 352 units. There was 90.43 per-cent agreement between the two codings.

Material to test the second hypothesis was obtained by means of a mail questionnaire to staff and committee members. The first part of the questionnaire related to demographic characteristics of the participants, including race, place of residence, and occupation.³ The second part of the questionnaire related to the importance attached by these participants to the six functions of the Community Council mentioned previously, and also to the role which participants felt staff and committee members should take in the planning process. For each function, the respondent was asked to indicate relative importance among a series of choices: very important, important, somewhat important, and unimportant. Five steps, representing stages in the planning process, were determined by staff members of the Community Council as being significant and distinct in the development of their programs. They were: (1) definition of a com-

³ With regard to race, 90.1 per cent of the committee members were white, and 9.9 per cent were Negro. With regard to residence, 36.2 per cent of the committee members lived in high-income tract areas, 42.5 per cent in medium-income tract areas, and 21.3 per cent in low-income tract areas. With regard to occupation, 20.8 per cent of the committee members were professionals in law, clergy, education, medicine; 8.7 per cent were business managers; 0.8 per cent were salesmen; 35.2 per cent were social workers and social agency executives; 14.4 per cent were other specialists in the health, welfare, and recreation field; and 20.1 per cent were housewives. Husbands of these housewives were either professionals in law, clergy, education, and medicine or were business managers.

All of the staff members were white. None of the staff members lived in high-income tracts and proportionately more lived in low-income tracts than did committee members. There was a single occupational rank for staff members.

munity problem; (2) study of possible solutions to the problem; (3) decision as to which solution should be carried through; (4) decision as to how the solution should be carried through; and (5) implementation of this solution. For each step in the planning process, the respondent was asked whether the major role responsibility lay with staff, with committee members, or jointly with staff and committee members.

Two hundred twenty-nine committee members (51 per cent) replied to the attitude questions on the questionnaire. There were two mailings of the questionnaire. Six of the nine staff members responded. Something is known about the committee members who did not respond: they were of the same sex proportion as those who did respond, they belonged to fewer committees of the Council, and they attended meetings less frequently than did the respondents. Staff members who did not respond did not differ markedly from those who responded either in demographic characteristics or in the roles they played in Community Council affairs.

Activities of Community Council Committees. The first hypothesis was concerned with the various kinds of activity engaged in by the Community Council through their committee work. Of the 352 different topics presented, 219 involved public relations functions; 133 involved planning functions; 160 involved discussion; 192 involved decision.

Public Relations issues were significantly more frequent than were Planning issues (chi square = 10.36, $p < .01$). Discussion responses were not significantly more frequent than Decision responses. Within the category of Public Relations issues there was no significant difference between the types of response. Within the category of Planning issues there was a significant difference between types of response (chi square = 3.84, $p < .05$), Decision responses occurring more frequently than Discussion responses.

Attitudes of Community Council Participants. The second hypothesis was concerned with the attitudes of staff and committee members of the Community Council toward the activities carried on by this organization and toward their own role in such activities. Rankings of frequency of occurrence of the functions in committee minutes and of the weighted importance scores afforded the function by staff and committee members showed that public relations functions were in all three instances given preference over planning functions.⁴

⁴ For each individual, a response of "very important" was given a weight of 4, a response of "important" was given a weight of 3, a response of "somewhat important" was given a weight of 2, and a response of "unimportant" was given a weight of 1. For each function, the weights of all individuals in the two groups were totaled to obtain the weighted importance scores.

A Kendall Coefficient of Concordance (W)⁵ on these three rankings of functions was significant, showing that essentially the same emphasis on functions was found in the committee minutes as was evidenced in the attitudes of the two groups. A Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient on the rankings of staff and committee members was insignificant ($r_s = .18$, $p < .01$), showing that the attitudes of these two groups are not highly associated. Staff members place significantly more weight on planning functions than do committee members.

Differences in rankings of Community Council functions by committee members with different status characteristics on the variables of race, residence, and occupation were also subjected to statistical analysis. With regard to race, the Spearman r_s showed no significant difference in the rankings of Negro and white committee members. With regard to place of residence, the Kendall W showed no significant difference in the rankings of committee members living in high-income tracts, medium-income tracts, and low-income tracts in the city. With regard to occupation, the Spearman $r_s = .81$, $p < .05$, showing that there was a significant difference between committee members who were social workers or other specialists in the social-work field and those who were in other professions or in business (or the wives of persons in other professions or in business). Social workers and allied specialists placed more emphasis on planning functions than did the other group.

The magnitude of importance scores given to the various Community Council functions by staff and committee members was also examined. The Mann-Whitney U test showed that the amount of importance attached to these functions by the two groups was not significantly different. The Mann-Whitney also showed no significant differences between the magnitude of importance scores of Negro and white committee members and between committee members who were social workers or allied specialists and those who were in other occupational groupings. The Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance by ranks showed no significant difference between the magnitude of importance scores of committee members of high-income, medium-income, and low-income tracts.

The frequency of role ascriptions for the five steps in planning by staff and committee members was then examined. Staff and committee member differences were not statistically handled because of the small

⁵ All of the non-parametric tests in this paper can be found in Sidney Siegel, *Non-parametric Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956).

N for staff. Except for the fourth step, however, they showed the same directional pattern of joint responsibility. For the fourth step (decision as to how the solution should be carried through), one half of the staff members felt that it should be staff responsibility and one half felt it should be joint responsibility; the majority of committee members felt it should be joint responsibility.

Chi squares showed that the role ascriptions of Negro and white committee members for the five steps in planning did not differ significantly except with regard to the fourth step. Here, the Negro members favored more individual responsibility of staff and committee members (chi square = 7.10, $p < .05$). Chi squares showed that role ascriptions of committee members of high-income, medium-income, and low-income tracts did not differ significantly for the five steps. Chi squares showed that role ascriptions of committee members who were social workers or allied specialists and those who were in other occupational groupings did not differ significantly for the five steps.⁶

CONCLUSIONS

In this study of an organization which plans for change in the field of social welfare, it was found that those functions which directly involve initiation of community changes, i.e., planning functions, were less frequently engaged in than those functions which primarily set the stage for overcoming resistance to change, i.e., public relations functions. It was also found that once a decision was made to initiate change, subsequent decisions concerning a course of action occurred more often than did mere discussion of the problem.

Committee members, who, by virtue of their higher social status in the community, have more vested interests in the *status quo*, were less in favor of such planning activities than were the staff members, who have less vested interests in the *status quo*.

In general, all participants in this organization, staff and committee members, and committee members of varied prestige groupings, held similar views of their roles in the planning process. The role configuration was one of shared responsibility rather than responsibility of only one of the two groups for all steps in planning.

This study of institutionalized change emanating from scientific advances points out the presence of resistance to change even among persons already committed to planning for it. Those closest to the source

⁶ Tabular presentation of the findings is available upon request to the author.

of change, professionals in the scientific field directly involved, were more in favor of the change than were those whose social roles are farther removed from the source of change. One would certainly expect other, stronger resistance to be found in the community among persons not committed to the change in any way and with having perhaps even more vested interests in the *status quo*.

In addition to the presence of resistance, the study points out a cultural value of shared responsibility for such change as opposed to specialized responsibility of professionals within the particular field. The first set of findings suggest, however, that as new, nonprofessional groups become involved in planning for change, resistance is more likely to be evidenced. The extent to which the scientist is allowed a role in change emanating from his field of scientific knowledge and the extent to which the professional formulation of change is implemented, modified or impeded by other groups, deserve more careful research in this era of rapid scientific development. Such research should also throw light on conflicting culture patterns and changing value orientations in our modern society.

STATUS: A HUMAN FORM OF TROPISM

EDWARD C. McDONAGH
University of Southern California

Tropism is a term invented by plant physiologists during the early part of the nineteenth century to describe the characteristic bending or turning of a plant toward the sunlight. Subsequent studies discovered other stimuli that compelled plants to react toward various sources of stimuli. Jacque Loeb pioneered a treatise at the end of World War I indicating that both plants and animals have similar tropistic qualities.¹ Today, the subject of tropism encompasses such divergent sources of stimuli as chemicals, light, water, heat, touch, and electricity.² The present writer goes much further than previously attempted by suggesting that man possesses a predictable behavior toward the acquisition of status that resembles the basic characteristic of a tropism, namely, its automatic and semicompulsive reaction toward the status stimulus. Man, it is purported, tends to be tropistic in his behavior toward goals and possessions that maintain or increase his status.

I

Status may be thought of as a relative position of worth or standing accorded a person by some other person or group of evaluators. The individual cannot secure status divorced from the evaluations of other persons. For every degree or aspect of status the individual is dependent on the evaluations of other persons; hence, this very dependence upon others makes him a ready subject for all social stimuli implying any change in status position. Thus, in a great many instances the individual must bend, and sometimes in a literal sense, in the direction of those cultural values and implied behavior patterns that are rewarded with appropriate status. Status-tropism, in short, involves those cultural stimuli which are charged with status implications that command immediate attention, compelling the individual to react positively or run the risk of a threat to his present status or standing. Therefore, to the present writer, it is largely the compulsive bending of man to those cultural values and symbols which are status oriented that resembles closely the phenomenon of tropism found in other forms of life.

¹ Jacque Loeb, *Forced Movements, Tropisms, and Animal Conduct* (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1918).

² Tropism is defined by Webster as "Any innate tendency to react in a definite manner to stimuli."

The tropism of status striving is conceived of as a behavioral tendency, analogous to the tropisms of heat or light, forcing the acceptance of many norms and standards of action by man in an essentially involuntary and automatic manner. A significant amount of the total behavior of man is subject to some kind of status evaluation, almost regardless of the culture compared. When the behavioral scientist knows the principal status values of a specific culture and the degree of class socialization of the individual, a significant proportion of human behavior may be anticipated. Human behavior according to this view need not be logical or intelligent to be predictable. No doubt when human behavior is examined without reference to the status values of a particular culture, much of the observed behavior may seem illogical and at times almost ludicrous. Nevertheless, seemingly illogical behavior becomes understandable when the framework of status values of a culture is specified.

In many instances, it is not necessarily logical thinking that controls human behavior, but the anticipated status evaluations resulting from a particular type of behavior. Logic is often subordinated as merely a mechanism capable of achieving some status symbol for the individual, rather than perhaps serving as an analytical and evaluative tool involving the worth of the status sought. Man expresses status in different ways, but these are largely details of a basic status need. The pierced nose of the savage or a course of snails at an exclusive restaurant can only be appreciated as consistent within the status system of a particular culture. The symbols that indicate status may differ widely from culture to culture, but men in all cultures seem to react compulsively to status values and their symbols as if driven by a tropistic need.

II

Status achieving or defending becomes an automatic and compulsive reaction of man to a basic need strongly associated with self-involvement. "It is not only by others," says Horney, "that we are valued according to the degree of our success; willy-nilly our own self-evaluation follows the same pattern."³ The self-definition of most persons is so insecure and uncertain that the symbols of status serve as a fence or a series of fences protecting the self-image from the apparent critical valuations of other persons. The intense desire for the accouterments of status may compel some persons to strive for success far beyond their limits of capability and may endanger their physical and emotional health. Hollingshead has

³ Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality in Our Time* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1937), p. 236.

found some relationship between the strain for upward mobility and some neurotic tendencies on the part of the strivers.⁴ The status striver exposes himself to many threats and challenges in a class subculture other than the one of his childhood socialization. Yet, the tropism of status striving drives many persons onward to find a higher rung of success rather than remain in the present subculture where threats to the self are contained and under control.

III

The interrelationships between status-tropism and the amount of effort involved in achieving a desired status raise a number of complex questions. George K. Zipf's work, *Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort*, argued that men select alternatives that result in the least average rate of probable work.⁵ Zipf assumes that man is a consistently logical creature and therefore careful to weigh all the possibilities and select the one that offers an economy of effort. The involved mathematical models offered by Zipf can hardly persuade the reader to accept his hypothesis, especially in view of the fact that he omitted from his illustrative model a very crucial variable, namely, status striving. The present writer is inclined to turn Zipf's thesis around and suggest that the Theory of the *Most* Effort may be constructed with status striving as the unitary variable motivating not only a very significant share of human effort, but its very direction. The chance of gaining status sets in motion an extraordinary amount of human effort; however, as hinted earlier, behavior that is status rewarding, no matter how illogical or irrational, may have its own pattern of consistency whenever the values of a culture specify the behavior or symbol as worthy of appropriate status. In somewhat operational terms, the so-called rationality of human behavior is likely to be judged by the amount of status achieved by the participant or participants, rather than by the amount of effort involved.

By combining the thesis of Zipf with the argument advanced in this paper, it is purported that man attempts to gain the most status with the least effort. In general, the amount of human effort expended is likely to be in direct proportion to the status reward expected. With appropriate status rewards, unknown and almost unlimited levels of human effort may be forthcoming. Numerous examples can be assembled of extraor-

⁴ August B. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich, *Social Class and Mental Illness* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958), p. 368.

⁵ George K. Zipf, *Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1949), p. 347.

dinary effort expended to secure a particular badge of status achievement, and a few may be cited: Millions of middle-class Americans are expending great effort to live in the suburbs of our cities as prestige areas; "labor-saving" devices with a symbolic status value are purchased for the home only after an exchange of many weeks of work by the breadwinner; and, finally, the example of a long and difficult professional education is often cited as a method of making certain that the work a person does has high status and that the work of the profession will not seem "hard." The symbols of status achievement seem to have the capacity to justify *more* effort than pure rationality might permit; hence, the tropistic quality of status striving which may demand more work than necessity commands.

IV

Status-oriented behavior is tropistic to the extent that no modern social order has been able to ignore this phenomenon. A strong case could be made that the major occupations usually characterized as professional are prone to be controlled by the badges of status. In the corporate world of business the tropisms of status are referred to as "incentive devices." Some individuals in major universities and highly skilled persons in the behavioral sciences have been employed to develop various schemes to exploit man's weakness to react tropistically to the symbols of status. Some of the designers of incentive plans have learned that, beyond a specific point, money, for instance, loses its capacity to compel greater effort and devotion on the part of various levels of executives in the organization. For example, an elaborate system of status symbols has been created to capture artificially the status-tropism of management toward the behavior desired.

Major industries have observed that their junior executives have become very sensitive to all symbols reflecting achieved status. Almost wherever one turns in modern industry, status symbols seem to be on the rise. *The Wall Street Journal* investigated the practices of some major businesses in twelve cities and found that status awareness is measured from the parking lot to the executive washroom.

Most Detroit automobile manufacturers have adopted strict management classifications for the purpose of doling out such privileges as the use of company-owned cars for both business and personal purposes. At top levels, executives not only obtain more expensive models of automobiles, but also receive a second free car for the wife. One large oil

company divides its management personnel into five levels for the purpose of distributing special privileges. When it comes to company automobiles, Class I (division managers) may choose between Cadillacs and Imperials. In Class V (which includes sales representatives), the employee may choose only from the Chevrolet 150, Ford Custom, and Plymouth Plaza. Another large corporation admits that its new 20-story building will be so standardized that the offices for executives of equal rank can all be built to within a square inch of another size.⁶ Obviously, space is a status factor readily perceived. Titles for executives are also capable of implying subtle status values. Banks are beginning to describe branch managers as assistant vice-presidents, which suggests that the next step up the ladder is to a vice-presidency of the bank. One automobile dealer in the Los Angeles area, who reclassified all his salesmen to the title "assistant sales manager," found them reluctant to be bothered with the principal task of selling automobiles and more concerned with their new status as a "manager."

On the worker level, industry has become aware of the energy-creating characteristic of various status rewards and titles. No doubt, unions fear some of these devices of management, since they may successfully compete against monetary rewards frequently espoused by them. Workers have been encouraged by pins, medals, and certificates not to be absent from work, to produce more, and to resist opportunities in competing companies. The degree of effort or work expended is many times greater than the value of the status reward; however, as pointed out earlier, symbolic status achievement in itself is sufficient to reward and activate human behavior. Without much reflection, the employee is compelled to conform to a particular kind of behavior because of the tropistic influence of the status reward.

Status-tropisms seem to control the academic man no less than other professions and occupations. Status inconsistencies arise in the academic profession when it is realized that the young instructor is hired to teach, and is dismissed if he does not publish. A young instructor with a heavy teaching load soon realizes that the only dependable factor that points in the direction of a promotion and improved academic status is a growing list of publications. As a recent Ph.D., he may be able to publish two or three articles from his dissertation; but after these are published, the crisis begins. The best prepared lectures and cleverly designed tests are no status match for the acclaim resulting from the landing of a research

⁶ *The Wall Street Journal*, October 10, 1958.

grant and the subsequent publication of the results in one of the professional journals. Articles gradually build up impressive vitae, something very tangible and portable for the young instructor. Research publications give him a reputation off the campus, whereas excellent teaching is likely to confine his reputation to a small division of a particular university. Research is becoming a dominant factor in the careers of many instructors because of the high "status pay off." They soon learn that conformity to the norms of their profession is rewarded by the assignment of appropriate status. Law and medicine, and several other professions, have somewhat similar normative systems that compel their members to behave according to the compulsions of status determinants.

V

For a good many persons, the symbols of status in the form of prestige, position, or possession represent the "light" that turns the head and heart of man in the direction of the goals to be pursued. Man is conscious and alert to the symbols of status, but seems to accept the need for status striving as natural. With the coming of mass media, the need for status is stimulated beyond its normal function, and conflicts in goals to be pursued begin to emerge as a new problem. Status striving may be tropistic as purported in this paper; nevertheless, man does have the power to select or reject placing himself in the path of many status stimuli.

A REAPPRAISAL OF COMTE'S POSITION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

RUSSELL MIDDLETON
The Florida State University

Auguste Comte is widely regarded as the skeleton in sociology's closet—a not quite respectable ancestor whom it is better not to mention. Thus the extensive attention given to the one hundredth anniversary of the births of Durkheim and Simmel in 1958 contrasts strongly with the almost total neglect of the centennial of Comte's death in 1957.¹ Despite DeGrange's persistent championing of Comte,² it is clear that Comte stands relatively low in the estimation of most contemporary American sociologists. Many today would agree with Bernard's judgment that "we can no longer look upon Comte as the founder of sociology or even as a very assiduous and successful cultivator of that science" or with von Wiese and Becker's view that "... we can learn little of sociological value from the foremost exponent of positivism."³

There are three principal reasons why Comte's prestige has sunk to such a low ebb. First, sociologists today tend to identify Comte with only a few of his major doctrines, such as the law of the three stages of intellectual development and the hierarchy of the sciences, which are either manifestly false or lacking in utility. Since Comte is little read today, few become aware of the many less spectacular but more valuable and influential points in the Comtean theoretical system.

Second, Comte is widely regarded as a mere systematizer of the ideas of Saint-Simon, Condorcet, Montesquieu, and others—not as an original thinker. It is true that Comte, like all theorists, was heavily indebted to his predecessors, and he freely acknowledged his debt. In general, however, it was the best known—and least valuable—of his doctrines, such as the law of the three stages, which tended to be most highly derivative. In balance there was probably a greater measure of originality in Comte's writings than in the works of most of the other founding fathers of sociology.

¹ See Harry Alpert's comment in a book review of Jean Lacroix's *La Sociologie d'Auguste Comte* in *American Journal of Sociology*, 63: 227-28.

² See especially McQuilkin DeGrange, *The Curve of Societal Movement* (Hanover, N. H.: Sociological Press, 1930), and *The Nature and Elements of Sociology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953).

³ L. L. Bernard, "The Significance of Comte," *Social Forces*, 21: 8-14, and Leopold von Wiese and Howard Becker, *Systematic Sociology* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1932), p. 686.

Third, Comte the man distracts us from giving attention to his significant ideas. Comte was by far the most flamboyantly eccentric and colorful of all the early sociologists, and consequently he is especially vulnerable to argument *ad hominem*. How can one take seriously the man who sought to found a "Religion of Humanity," replete with churches (facing the holy city of Paris), rituals (processions with green and white banners), saints' days (e.g., for Caesar, Galileo, Shakespeare), a priesthood (sociologists), and a High Priest of Humanity (Comte)?

If one attempts diligently to winnow the significant and useful ideas from the chaff of Comte's two major works,⁴ however, one is rewarded with a rich harvest; for an analysis of his writings reveals Comte as the principal demarcator of the fields of sociology and social psychology and as the anticipator of many important subsequent methodological and theoretical developments in sociology.

Demarcation of the Field. Whether or not Comte can be regarded as the founder of sociology is a debatable question, but it appears that he bears stronger credentials than Saint-Simon, Quételet, and most of the other early theorists who have been pushed forward as claimants of the title. Perhaps Hankins' dubbing of Comte as "founder-in-chief" is most appropriate.⁵ Skeptics are inclined to say that Comte's only claim to the title of founder lies in his coining of the term "sociology"; but even if this were true, it was no small contribution. Abandoning the terms "politics" and "social physics," Comte first used "sociology" in his writings in 1839. The term soon enjoyed a wide measure of popularity, and even Herbert Spencer was forced grudgingly to accept the label for his own work. Undoubtedly the development of sociology as an independent science was aided in its early years by the possession of a generally accepted unique label, and today only linguistic purists who object to the bastard offspring of Greek and Latin forebears are likely to be critical of Comte's invention.

In addition to devising a distinctive name, Comte sought to mark off the boundary lines for an independent science of man's social life. He was a strong opponent of reductionism, the explanation of the phenomena of one level by moving to a different level of analysis. Thus he wrote of the "vain struggle to connect every order of phenomena with one set of

⁴ *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte*, translated and condensed by Harriet Martineau, 3 vols. (London: G. Bell, 1913), and *System of Positive Polity*, translated by J. H. Bridges *et al*, 4 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1875).

⁵ Frank H. Hankins, "A Comtean Centenary: Invention of the Term 'Sociology,'" *American Sociological Review*, 4: 16.

laws" whether from the physical, chemical, or biological realm. There are instead "... various orders of laws,—each set governing and actuating its own province" (*Philosophy*, III, p. 403). There is, then, a definite sociologistic tendency in Comte's writings, an insistence that social phenomena be explained in social terms.

In attempting to delimit the boundaries of the field of sociology, Comte was seriously handicapped by the poorly developed state of psychology in his time. Because of the confusion of sociological and psychological levels of analysis, Comte's conceptions of sociology underwent continual revision throughout his life. In his early work entitled *Positive Philosophy*, psychology was not given an independent place in the hierarchy of the sciences, for he regarded individual mental phenomena as lying within the province of biology. In the second volume of *Positive Polity*, however, psychological phenomena were removed from the biological realm and a new science which Comte called "anthropology" or "morals" (*la morale*) was placed at the head of the hierarchy of sciences, even above sociology. Comte distinguished sociology as the study of the intellectual and active aspects of human nature and morals as the study of man's affective life. Later he came to realize that it is difficult to separate feeling, thought, and action, and in the fourth volume of *Positive Polity* he envisioned morals as encompassing thought and action as well as feeling. Sociology was then redefined as the study not of intellect and action as such but of the cumulative results of the intellectual efforts and actions of groups of people—a formulation very close to the culture concept.

Social psychology—or "morals"—was placed at the head of the hierarchy of abstract sciences because the phenomena with which it deals are conditioned by the laws of each of the other sciences, especially sociology. This conception of social psychology, so different from Spencer's intercalation of psychology between biology and sociology, led Comte in the direction of investigating the social bases of personality and away from the pitfall of psychological reductionism of social phenomena. Although Comte died before he was able to fulfill his plan to publish a volume dealing specifically with social psychology, DeGrange and Allport have hailed Comte as the discoverer and founder of social psychology as well as of sociology.⁶

Positivism in Method. Comte coined the term "positivism" to describe his general philosophical position, which was rooted in the empiricism

⁶ Gordon W. Allport, "The Historical Background of Modern Social Psychology," in Gardner Lindzey, editor, *Handbook of Social Psychology*, I (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954), p. 7.

of Bacon, Locke, and Hume. Today the label of "neopositivist" has been attached to a number of sociologists, of whom Lundberg is perhaps the best example; and there appear to be many similarities between Comtean positivism and contemporary neopositivism.⁷

Comte's primary methodological tenet was that all phenomena, social as well as physical and biological, are subject to natural laws. These laws may be discovered through experience patterned by scientific techniques. Thus, social phenomena can be predicted scientifically, and the knowledge so derived may be used in a practical manner in the solution of social problems (*Philosophy*, I, p. 5; II, pp. 217-18; *Polity*, I, p. 25; IV, pp. 16-17, 585, 599). This basic point in Comte's day was by no means the commonplace that it has since become.

Comte wrote at some length on the methods of research that are appropriate to sociology. He distinguished four methods of investigation: observation, experiment, comparison, and the historical method (*Philosophy*, II, pp. 241-57). He was insistent that observation be guided by theory, and his position on the relation of theory to research was essentially that which is accepted today. He attacked the "sterile empiricism" of Bacon's followers, but also insisted that "... observed facts are the only basis of sound speculation. . ." It is necessary then to "determine the respective offices of observation and reasoning, so as to avoid the danger of empiricism on the one hand, and mysticism on the other" (*Philosophy*, III, p. 360).

Comte realized the difficulty of utilizing the experimental method in sociology, and he admitted that it is rarely possible for the investigator to manipulate variables experimentally. He pointed out, however, that it is possible to carry out "indirect experiments" in which the effects of spontaneous variations in phenomena are noted.

The comparative method, which actually encompasses the historical method, was regarded by Comte, as it was later by Weber, as the most important for sociology. Unfortunately, his suggestion that coexisting societies which have attained different degrees of cultural development may be studied to discover the "different stages of evolution" was all too influential, for it stimulated Spencer, Tylor, Morgan, and others to seek evolutionary stages on the basis of contemporary cross-cultural materials. Sociology and social anthropology were thus led down a blind alley, from which they did not escape entirely for almost forty years.

⁷ See George Lundberg, "Contemporary Neopositivism in Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, 4: 42-55.

In connection with the comparative method, Comte developed the notion of the "social type"—a concept which antedates by forty years the "normal concept" of Tönnies and by fifty years the better-known "ideal type" of Max Weber. Comte regarded the social type as a scientific fiction, an extreme limiting case which social reality may approximate in different degrees without ever reaching complete identity. As in the case of the later ideal type, according to Comte polar social types were to be utilized in the analysis of actual cases intermediate between the two extremes.⁸

In spite of the surprising amount of methodological sophistication which one finds in Comte's writings, there are also many dubious propositions and many inconsistencies. The principal difficulty with Comte's work, however, is that he himself did not follow adequately the methods which he outlined. There are consequently few, if any, verified hypotheses which may be accepted from Comte's sociology. His work has been useful primarily in providing an orientation to data.

Functionalism. Although he is rarely given credit as a pioneer in the functionalist analysis of society, society was conceived by Comte as a functional system of interdependent parts based upon a division of labor. He also insisted strongly upon the close interrelation of the various parts of society and maintained that the individual parts cannot be understood apart from their context within the whole.

Comte divided sociology into "social statics," which is concerned with social structure, and "social dynamics," which deals with social change—a distinction which has persisted in sociology although the terminology has not (*Polity*, II, p. 1). Within the realm of social statics Comte not only used the term "structure" to describe the arrangements of parts of society, but also introduced the concept of "activity," which he used in much the same way as present-day sociologists use "function." He conceived of structure and activity as being bound up together: "... structure is only developed, and indeed is only preserved, by the appropriate degree of activity" (*Polity*, II, p. 277).

Unlike Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, Comte was very much preoccupied with the dynamic features of social systems. He held that social statics and social dynamics are closely related, and he sought to reconcile the laws of harmony with the laws of change. He suggested that activity in some cases, rather than reinforcing social structure, may be the source of change (*Polity*, II, p. 277). In other words, a dys-

⁸ *Philosophy*, II, p. 292 *et passim*. See also N. S. Timasheff, *Sociological Theory*, revised edition (New York: Random House, 1957), p. 22.

functional element may serve to disrupt the old social system, whereupon a new unified structure and functional system may be established. Thus "... the laws of harmony [are] always maintained in the midst of the laws of succession" (*Philosophy*, III, p. 390).

Since society was represented by Comte as a functional system, obviously if different parts of the system changed at different rates, serious disequilibrium might result. Comte pointed out that with increasing industrialization there began to emerge a new social system in the urban areas, but the rural areas lagged behind, adhering to the older order. Even within the cities, however, the material development was far in advance of the development of new "moral" or institutional controls (*Philosophy*, III, pp. 272-73). This latter idea especially bears a close kinship to the culture lag theory of social change formulated by Ogburn. Both Comte and Durkheim shared a deep concern over the absence of strong institutional controls to regulate individual behavior in industrial society, and each expressed the hope that corporate occupational groups would serve in the future to reintegrate anomic individuals into society (*Polity*, I, pp. 114-15).

Other Contributions. It is possible to indicate only briefly some of the other useful contributions of Comte to sociology. Perhaps the most important of these was his construction of contrasting ideal types of society—military society and industrial society. The distinction is in essential respects the same as that made later by Tönnies, Durkheim, Park, Becker, and Redfield. Comte attacked climatic and racial determinism and the great man theory of social change, and he was a vigorous opponent of fatalism and the laissez-faire philosophy. Comte more than any other early sociologist before Ross was interested in the problem of social control, and he emphasized the importance of public opinion and nonrational factors in governing human behavior. Finally, there is an interesting hint by Comte of a point that was later developed more fully by Weber, that industrialization had been stimulated in certain parts of Europe by the "Protestant spirit" (*Philosophy*, III, p. 228).

Conclusion. Although there is always the danger of reading too much into the works of the theorists of the past, it is clear that Comte made a great many positive contributions to the development of sociology and is undeserving of the neglect which he has suffered in recent years. He performed yeoman service in helping to mark off the boundary lines not only of the new science of sociology but also of social psychology. Much of what Comte had to say about methods of research has become

ingrained in the thinking of sociologists today, and there are close affinities between Comtean theory and neopositivism, structural-functionalism, and many other sociological developments. It is true, however, that Comte's direct influence on the subsequent development of sociology was limited. Comte himself complained that his work for the most part met with silence—not even controversy. Dying two years before the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, Comte was soon overshadowed by Social Darwinism and Spencerian evolutionism. Comte's chief influence on contemporary sociology was thus indirect, mediated principally through Durkheim, who acknowledged Comte as his master.

THE DANISH NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

HENNING FRIIS
Copenhagen, Denmark

Since the beginning of the 1940's, social research has been undertaken by the Danish Ministries of Labour and Social Affairs in order to provide data on social problems with a particular view to the preparation of new legislation, or for the purpose of examining the effects of existing social legislation and administration. In some cases the initiative was taken by the Ministries as such, but more frequently it came from Government Committees asking for examination of special problems in connection with their terms of reference.

In organizing research inside this framework, some difficulties were encountered. For each particular study, it was necessary to recruit or train a staff that tended to change from study to study. The experience gained through the investigations was, therefore, not accumulated. Some of the investigations dragged on, because the staff often had to do the research work as an addition to their main jobs.

While it is only fair to stress the interest on the part of Cabinet Ministers and officials in the research undertaken and the scientific freedom in the treatment of the material, the scope of research was mainly restricted to short-term problems. To this must be added the fact that the research has been confined to the fields of the Ministries of Labour and Social Affairs. Social questions coming within the competence of, say, the Ministries of Health and Housing have not been studied in a similar way.

The framework within which research has been undertaken has thus been rather inadequate, and the knowledge of social questions and of the effects of the legislation and administration was insufficient when considering the background of the amounts spent on social welfare, and the many new problems arising out of the rapidly changing social conditions in modern society.

In March, 1955, the Minister of Social Affairs appointed an expert Committee to consider how to develop a permanent organizational structure for applied social research.

The Committee submitted its report toward the end of 1956, in which it laid down the following basic principles for development of a new structure: (1) Continuity must be secured through a long-term research program and the establishment of a permanent research staff who can

profit by the experience obtained through successive research projects, and who are given opportunities to follow developments in social policy and social science; (2) within reasonable economic limits it must be possible to meet demands for investigation of problems of immediate interest presented by public and private institutions, as well as of problems with a wider and longer perspective; (3) a close collaboration must be established among representatives of the various branches of science which, according to the problems under investigation, should participate in their solution; (4) the aim must be to create a type of organization which has continuous contacts with institutions dealing with social questions in practice, and which, on the other hand, has that freedom of research and publication of its findings which is essential to all scientific work.

On the basis of these principles the Committee in its report proposed the creation of an independent National Institute of Social Research. The Danish Parliament followed this proposal, and on April 18, 1958, the Act on the Establishment of an Institute of Social Research was passed.

Structure. According to the Act, the Institute is administratively an independent institution under the Ministry of Social Affairs, but will be at the disposal of other branches of the administration and public and private organizations that are interested in social research, in the following fields in particular: social assistance and insurance, labour problems, the social problems of family and youth and of housing and health conditions.

The Institute can independently take up problems for research, and may accept requests for investigations from public authorities and private organizations. The decision as to which project should be carried out is determined by the Research Board of the Institute.

If Government bodies want to have research work made of the kind for which the Institute is responsible, such work should, if possible, be carried out by the Institute. In some cases, however, it will be most appropriate that parts of the investigations be conducted as part of the general activities of the administration in question, but with the assistance of the Institute in planning and analyzing the material. A corresponding service might be rendered, for example, to municipal and private organizations.

The establishment of the Institute of Social Research is not intended to lead to a monopolization of social research in Denmark. The Institute can permit independent scientists working with subjects falling within its field of competence to utilize its technical facilities, can transfer

research work or parts of such work to other research institutions and share in the expenses. It is also available for the practical training of university students. In the planning of its research, the Institute endeavours to keep in contact with similar work in other countries; and the Institute is very interested in taking part in cross-national research.

The Institute is governed by a Research Board and a Director. The Research Board shall approve the working program of the Institute and initiate research work to be carried through by the Institute as well as by other research institutions. The Research Board consists of representatives from the scientific disciplines which contribute to applied social research, and from those branches of administration which are particularly interested in the Institute. The Director has the scientific and administrative responsibility for the Institute.

As is the case of the Research Board, the staff of the Institute is recruited from different scientific disciplines. The collaborators have economic, statistical, psychological, sociological, or medical educations. In September, 1959, the academic staff numbered 14, of whom 8 were full time.

The funds for the activities of the Institute are provided through the annual Government budgets. For the financial year 1959-60 the budget amounts to 600,000 kr. For the execution of special projects, the Institute is authorized to secure necessary funds from other sources, e.g., private organizations and Danish or foreign foundations.

Research Projects. The Institute began work early in 1959.

1. The first study of the Institute deals with *consequences of the reduction of the working week* from 48 to 45 hours in a number of trades from March 1, 1959. The purpose of the study is to throw light on the direct and indirect consequences of the reduction in working hours for the productivity and human relations. Special interest is focused on the different forms of reducing the hours of work (week-end closure, shorter working day, etc.).

In a small number of firms detailed studies are undertaken through interviews with management, foremen, and workers, and through analysis of statistical material which can explain changes, if any, in the productivity within the individual firms. The first phase of the examination of individual firms took place shortly before or around the time of the reduction of the working hours, whereas the next phase will be carried out early this year in order to study the changes which will then have taken place. Furthermore, interviews will be arranged with a number of key people on the management side as well as the labour side in a broad

range of industries in order to draw upon their knowledge on the effect of the reduction of the working hours. Finally, an examination will be made of the general statistics of production, working hours, and wages in order to obtain a broad view of the effects of the reduction of the working hours.

2. In the years 1950-54 the Directorate of Labour Inspection carried out an investigation to throw light on *the social and physical effects of shift-work*, by collecting material from industrial firms applying work in 3 shifts. This material, which is as yet only partly analyzed, has been handed over to the Institute for final study.

These studies will be widened to include the effects of shift-work in the Police Corps, which employs personnel both during normal working hours and in shift. The Police has, for its personnel, information on each person concerning their state of health gathered at regular intervals. The investigation covers a representative segment divided, three fourths in shifts and one fourth with normal working hours.

Besides the information already mentioned, it is hoped through the results of this new investigation, when compared with the previously obtained results, to reach a conclusion concerning the possibilities for reducing undesired effects of necessary shift-work. Special efforts have in this connection been concentrated on changes in the working-hour plan, the selection of well-suited persons for shift-work or the rejection of persons who are considered less suited for shift-work, and guidance for those in shifts as to their daily life.

3. An investigation covering the whole country concerning *the handicapped* is being planned by the Institute at the initiative of various Danish societies for the prevention of illnesses and associations of disabled persons.

The purpose of this investigation is to reach a reliable estimation of the number of persons between 15 and 60 years who are physically handicapped and of their composition according to diagnosis, sex, age, education, profession, income, housing condition, etc. Those who are gainfully occupied, as well as the unemployed handicapped, are included in the survey. Furthermore, the aim is to throw light on the effectiveness of existing rehabilitation services, and the needs in different groups for further assistance.

The investigation is planned to be carried out through interviews in a great number of representatively chosen households in order to trace those members of the household who are handicapped. These will then be specially interviewed. Before final decision is taken concerning the

investigation, a pilot study took place in the autumn of 1959.

4. In order to throw light on *the role of economic security and social welfare measures in the Danish population*, a survey will be carried out parallel with the study on the handicapped. This survey will cover a segment of the same households visited in order to trace the handicapped. The first purpose is to get information on the extent to which the population is preparing against economic risks, including protection against loss of income in old age in the light of the national pension legislation (e.g., deferred annuity and life assurance), sickness, unemployment, and loss of breadwinner. It is intended also to look into the extent of married women's and single mothers' outwork.

It is the intention to study the motives for nonutilization of existing welfare and social provision services in order to analyze the opinion of the population on social security. A final decision regarding this project will be taken after a pilot study, which was undertaken along with the pilot study on the handicapped.

5. The Government Labour Market Council (*Arbejdsmarkedsrådet*) has requested the Institute of Social Research and the Directorate of Unemployment to embark upon investigations concerning the *long-standing unemployed*, with a particular view to the reasons for their long unemployment and the possibilities for rehabilitation. The Institute is for the time being studying the possibilities of an investigation in this field.

6. The field of *social gerontology* has a high priority on the research program of the Institute. As an opening, the collection of all existing Danish statistics regarding the living conditions of the elderly is being undertaken and will be published as an information document.

Further, the Government Statistical Department has recently undertaken budget studies of old-age pensioners; and as a part of its morbidity study, the Board of Health has collected material on health and living conditions of the elderly. The basic material from these investigations is handed over to the Institute for further examination. However, a number of questions are still unanswered that call for further studies concerning the elderly. It is the intention to prepare a sample survey of the elderly with a particular view to problems concerning retirement work and need for social services.

7. For use in sampling procedures, the Institute has collected documentation on the economic and social structure of all Danish local communities. This information on each community has been collected from published statistics and from unpublished material in the Statistical

Department. As this documentation has an interest besides its use for sampling, the Institute is publishing a handbook which will contain information on each municipality, and an analysis of the total material.

8. With a view to its long-term program the Institute is studying research needs within the many fields which are covered by the terms of reference of the Institute. In the planning of future research, consideration is given to research areas concerning which important groups or institutions have expressed their interest, which includes child welfare, internal migration, and the high Danish suicide rate.

SOCIAL CHANGE IN PAKISTAN

KHALIDA SHAH AND JOHN B. EDLEFSEN

Washington State University

The significance of Pakistan within the comity of free nations of the world has been somewhat minimized by those who have not fully appreciated the importance of the rapid changes which are taking place in the world today, and in particular in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. This paper attempts to discuss some of the problems of the people of Pakistan and the rapid social changes which have been and which are taking place in that country. Although Pakistan is a comparatively new state, her civilization dates back many centuries. Excavations show that Pakistan, like Egypt and Mesopotamia, was the center of one of the oldest civilizations of the world.¹ Pakistan consists of two parts, East and West, separated by more than 1,000 miles of Indian territory. East Pakistan is bordered by Burma and India. West Pakistan has common borders with the Middle East.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Muslim invasion of Northern and Western India, including Sindh, in the early eighth century marked the first establishment of Muslim political power in what is now Pakistan. About three centuries later, there began a series of invasions from the north that eventually spread the Muslim Turks and later the Mughals over almost all the Indian Subcontinent.² Large areas of the country remained under the rule of these invaders until the British domination. Forced conversions and intermarriages contributed to the growing number of Muslims. Under the Hindu caste system of social stratification, members of the lowest groups were completely exploited and oppressed. Conversion to Islam, which preached the equality and brotherhood of all men, was a means of escape from the caste system.

The Moslem ruling elite of foreign origin perpetuated their foreign identification with alien traditions and resisted cultural assimilation. At the same time, the masses who had been converted to Islam sought to emphasize the distinctiveness of their own identity as a protective measure

¹ *Pakistan, Basic Facts* (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, Karachi Government Printing Press, 1955), p. 13.

² J. Allan, T. Wolsley Haig, and H. H. Dodwell, *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, editor, H. H. Dodwell (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), p. 206.

against slipping back into the caste system. The fact of their identification with a tradition, which was to some extent the same as that of the ruling class, lent some measure of prestige even though there was no actual change in their social and economic status. Among both Muslim groups, the ruling elite and the converts, the desire for a distinct identity against religious and social assimilation ultimately had its solution in partition of the subcontinent and the establishment of Pakistan.

The British went to India as traders to do business with whatever governments existed. They arrived at a time when the Mughal Empire was rapidly crumbling. Sound fiscal policies had not been enforced, and the social order was disorganized. The British, led by their colonial interests, found it necessary to pacify by force of arms the regions in which they traded. Consequently, by the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, India became a part of the British empire.

The Muslim reaction to this turn of events was one of withdrawal. The Muslim tradition of Persian scholarship, art, and literature declined with its attendant effects. The descendants of the Muslim nobility suffered deterioration in the level of education and other accomplishments. The Muslim converts, generally representing the poorest and the most neglected segments of society, also had very limited contact with the new culture imported by the British. Hindus looked upon the British during the early years as allies against the Muslim rulers, and many eagerly absorbed the new ideas and new traditions that became synonymous with government. Under the British, many Hindus rose to positions of power in the administration of the country and controlled trade and commerce, while the Muslims generally declined economically and were for the most part politically impotent.³

When independence of the country approached, many Muslims were apprehensive. The remnants of the elite anticipated with trepidation an independent India where they feared they would be compelled to accept subservience to the Hindus; and for the descendants of converts to Islam, the prospect of being forced back into the Hindu caste system created concern. The Muslims demanded partition of the subcontinent into two states, to be known as Pakistan and India.

THE STATE OF PAKISTAN

Pakistan became a reality on August 14, 1947. Immediately after its birth it was confronted by a variety of serious socioeconomic problems.

³ John Aird, "Introduction," *Pakistan: Society and Culture*, editor, Stanley Maron (New York: Human Relations Area Files, 1957), pp. 3-4.

More than seven million refugees poured into the country and approximately the same number of Hindus left, including many key personnel. The apparatus of government had to be established with inadequate staff and equipment. During the early years a deep sense of unity, heroism, and devotion enabled the people of Pakistan to face the difficulties and to struggle to overcome them. During the first ten years the government evolved various plans for the development of the country, some of which are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Agricultural and Industrial Development. Pakistan is primarily an agricultural country and, inasmuch as 85 per cent of its people depend on agriculture for a livelihood, the government has given special attention to the task of improving and developing agriculture. Important projects of a multipurpose nature such as the Rasul Hydroelectric development in the Panjab, Karnafuli Project in East Pakistan, Warsak Project in the North West Frontier, and many others are under construction. All these projects are designed to bring more than a million additional acres of land under irrigation and to provide the power to assist in industrializing the country.

The ownership of the land is in many areas inequitably distributed among a small number of landlords, culminating in great social and economic injustice. The tenants are generally insecure and are denied a reward proportionate to the efforts they make. Initiative and enterprise are therefore hampered, and there is little productive investment in agriculture. As a result of the special prestige which ownership of land enjoys over large masses of people, political power is concentrated in the hands of a privileged few. It has been evident since the birth of the country that, apart from its economic and political consequences, such concentration of power militates against the free development of democratic social institutions.

To remedy these defects, the new President, General Muhammed Ayub Khan, immediately after coming to power on October 27, 1958, appointed a Land Reforms Commission. The commission, after deliberate assessment of the land, the population pressure and other considerations, has recommended certain specifics as a minimum program of land reform. The objectives of the land reforms are to improve the land tenure policy, to provide, on the one hand, the social need for greater equality of opportunity and social status and, on the other, to improve the standard of rural living through a more equitable distribution of income from the land.⁴

⁴ See a reprint of General Muhammed Ayub Khan's broadcast from Radio Pakistan, Karachi, on January 26, 1959, in *Pakistan Affairs*, Embassy of Pakistan, Washington, February 15, 1959, Vol. XII, No. 4, p. 1.

Industrialization of the areas now comprising Pakistan was largely neglected in United India because of certain historical factors, despite the fact that raw materials were available. In the first year of the country's birth, a National Planning Board was set up. Owing to limited resources, special emphasis was laid on plans of fundamental and immediate importance such as hydroelectric and other forms of power, expansion of communication, exploitation of minerals, training of technical personnel, etc. The Five Year Plan, 1955-1960, evolved by this board was the first organized effort to develop the natural resources of Pakistan to bring about social and economic improvement in the living of the people.

Education and Social Change. Constructive social changes that are to be found in Pakistan, particularly in big cities such as Karachi, Lahore, and Dacca, may be traced in part to the educational opportunities existing there. The Census reports of 1951 show that 82 per cent⁵ of the people of Pakistan were illiterate at that time. The Government's drive to eradicate illiteracy and to raise the standard of education has since continued with great vigor, and many schools and colleges have been established to provide educational opportunities for the people.

The number of primary schools during the period 1947 to 1957 increased from 38,000 to 45,000, and the number of pupils increased from 3.4 million to 5.4 million. The number of secondary schools rose from 6,000 to 75,000 and students from 900,000 to 1,500,000, while the number of colleges increased from 90 to 136 and universities from two to six. The student population in the colleges and universities rose from 36,000 to 77,000.⁶

In an attempt at reorientation of the educational system an agreement was made in 1954 between the governments of Pakistan and of the U.S.A. for Intercollege Exchange Projects at five of Pakistan's universities, i.e., Karachi University in contract with Pennsylvania State University and the University of Indiana; University of Sind, with New Mexico Agricultural and Mechanical College; Panjab University, with Washington State University; Peshawar University, with Colorado Agricultural and Mechanical College; and Dacca University, with Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. Under these projects

⁵ *Ten Years of Pakistan, 1947-1957* (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, 1957), p. 249.

⁶ Speech made by Muhammad Shamsul Huq, Educational and Cultural Attaché of the Embassy of Pakistan, at the 4th Convocation of the Pakistan Students' Association of America, quoted by *Pakistan Student*, New York, Vol. V, No. I, December, 1957.

exchange is made of teachers, advisers, students, and educational equipment between the colleges in Pakistan seeking to develop various fields of education, and the appropriate colleges engaged in the teaching of these subjects in the U.S.A. In addition to these major contract programs, Harvard University is assisting the Planning Board of the government of Pakistan in preparing Pakistan's development plans; and since 1949 the government of Pakistan has utilized the facilities of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University to train groups of its new Foreign Service recruits.⁷ Pakistan is also being helped in the development of its educational program by some of the private American and English agencies, such as the Ford Foundation and the Nuffield Foundation, by the Colombo Plan and the United Nations Technical Assistance Programs.

Social Change Through Social Welfare. Pakistan, at its inception, had a tremendous number of problems in the field of social welfare. The most important of these, in both magnitude and urgency, resulted from the mass migration at the time of partition. The rehabilitation of about eight million⁸ displaced persons in an economy which had been seriously disorganized and the facilitating of their adjustment to the new social system were most formidable problems.

The early spontaneous outpouring of private and government assistance, whether in the form of direct aid to refugees or in other forms, made an essential contribution in the first years of independence. But it could not provide the sustained and planned assistance required for the solution of problems of such great magnitude. The Government organized projects to train community development and medical social workers along scientific lines. Expert technical help and guidance came from the United Nations, from American agencies such as I. C. A., the Ford Foundation, the Asia Foundation, and from a few prominent social workers in the country itself. Vital support came also from leading national social-work agencies. An essential achievement in this direction was the establishment of departments of social work and of sociology at the universities of the Panjab and Dacca, to train sociologists and social workers within the country.

⁷ *The International Programs of American Universities* (Institute of Research on Overseas Programs, Michigan State University, East Lansing, October 1958).

⁸ *The First Five Years Plan, 1955-60*, Pakistan Publications, Vol. II, 1956, p. 516.

Besides providing training facilities in the fields of social work and sociology, ministries of Social Welfare have been opened in the central government as well as in both provincial units. These ministries have developed various projects to bring about social and economic changes in the cities as well as in villages. To help some people to adjust for the first time and others to readjust to the requirements of urban life and a changing socioeconomic order largely through their own collective efforts, the Government has started urban community development projects in various cities.

Nine centers known as Village AID⁹ Training Institutes for training village level workers, three in East Pakistan and six in West Pakistan, have been opened. The trainees at these Village AID Institutes are given one year's training in the fundamentals of community organization and development, basic knowledge of improved methods of agriculture, cottage industries, home economics, fundamental education, and other subjects relevant to the needs of the people in specific areas.¹⁰

The village workers, both men and women, carry their knowledge and skills to the families in villages and demonstrate to them the use of modern scientific methods designed to raise agricultural production. Under this program, councils of villagers, youth clubs, and women's organizations are created where participants gather together and discuss their own problems and pool their efforts to solve them. They are also provided recreational and cultural facilities where boys are taught scientific methods of farming, domestic stock breeding, etc., while girls learn housekeeping, child care, domestic science, sewing, weaving, carpentry, etc.¹¹

To train administrative, supervisory, and teaching personnel of the Village AID Department and the Village AID Institutes, two academies, one at Peshawar (West Pakistan) and the other at Comila (East Pakistan), were opened in 1959. As planned,

A particular objective of the academies, will be to prepare the personnel of the several government departments for the task of integrating all village work to achieve the maximum improvement in the welfare of the people. Both the central and the Provincial governments attach the highest importance to the program of village development because it fulfills the great hope for improving the standard of living of the village people, and for providing them with a happier and fuller life.¹²

⁹ AID stands for Agricultural and Industrial Development.

¹⁰ *Ten Years of Pakistan, 1947-1957*, op. cit., p. 281.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

¹² An unpublished scheme for the Pakistan Academies for Village Development, Karachi, August 1956, p. 8B.

A Village AID Development Area normally comprises 150 villages situated contiguously. As of 1957, eighty-nine Development Areas (thirty in East Pakistan, fifty-three in West Pakistan and six in Azad Kashmir, Gilgit, and Baluchistan) covered more than 14,000 villages and a total population of approximately ten million. The Five Year Plan (1955-1960) envisages the setting up of 168 Development Areas (excluding four in Azad Kashmir) covering 25,150 villages in all. This will include one fourth of all the villages in the entire country. The second Five Year Plan will perhaps be twice that size; and at the end of it, it is expected that 75 per cent of the entire country will have the benefits of Village Aid.¹³

Change in Social Structure. One notable factor in this development of public welfare work in Pakistan has been a noticeable change in the attitudes of the people during the past decade. With the growth of social awareness, their approach toward various problems is becoming somewhat more realistic, positive, and analytical.

As stated before, most of the Muslims of Pakistan were converts from Hinduism. These Muslim converts, while changing their religion, adopted the Islamic way of life, but at the same time, to some extent, preserved their old social customs such as the joint or extended family system, the caste system, etc. Islam, like Christianity and Judaism, places great emphasis on equality and brotherhood, but caste as a symbol of social rank had always played an important part among the Moslems of India though with less clearly defined lines than among the Hindus. There persisted among the different groups almost the same feeling of aloofness and adherence to endogamy that characterized Hindu society.

At present there are forces working to disintegrate the caste system and to bring about a relaxation of the many restrictions which it imposes on individual freedom. The advancement of industry, spread of education, and improvement of communication have contributed to these developments. Lately a feeling of resentment has been manifest among the educated classes against the caste system. Social intercourse between different caste neighbors has become the rule, and caste intermarriages have become common. Education, today, is one of the most important factors in determining social status.

The *Pardah*¹⁴ system, which has been a correlate with economic and social status in Pakistan, is loosening its hold. The devices for observing

¹³ *Pakistan, 1957-1958* (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, 1958), pp. 223-24.

¹⁴ A word of Persian derivation, "pardah" specifically designates a curtain or screen and more generally refers to secrecy, seclusion, or modesty.

pardah have been numerous, with the most common being separate quarters for women and the wearing of *burqa*, a garment that envelops its wearer from head to heel with just a screen or holes for vision. The *burqa* is compatible with a relatively narrowly defined domestic status for women. Signs indicate that this status is altering. In a recent study of attitudes of forty-two women toward pardah, 28.5 per cent wanted the state to abolish it by legislation, 47.6 per cent of them were against pardah, but they wanted it to be abolished gradually. There were only 28.5 per cent of the women who were in favor of the pardah system and who wanted to remain behind the veil.¹⁵ Women are participating increasingly in education, social welfare, public office, and in the labor market. As a result, one can observe many Muslim women going without a *burqa* in the streets of Karachi, Lahore, and Dacca.

Formerly employment of women for wages carried with it a certain stigma. But with the continually increasing economic needs of the modern patterns of life, the number of gainfully employed women is constantly increasing. They have started entering professions partly because of economic reasons, but also because they want to be independent. In 1956, a group of 330 women registering with the Regional Employment Exchange, Lahore, to seek assistance in employment, were asked about the reasons for seeking employment. About 40 per cent of the total respondents replied that it was to support their families, 45 per cent to supplement their family income, and 15 per cent wanted employment "in order to be independent."¹⁶

The patrilocal, patriarchal joint family system has been characteristic of Indian society for centuries. During recent years developments have taken place which have to a great extent minimized the importance of the joint family as an organization for social and economic security. Gradual urbanization, benefits such as pension or provident funds given at the end of the period of service in Government work, and quasi-government employment are some of the factors contributing toward the disintegration of the joint family system. A recent study of six villages in West Pakistan showed that only 19.2 per cent of the families were joint families in these villages.¹⁷ It is anticipated that the joint

¹⁵ Shamin Qureshi, "Attitudes of a Selected Sample of Women in Lahore Toward Pardah" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Sociology, The Panjab University, 1957).

¹⁶ K. Shah, "Problems of Unemployed Women Registered with the Regional Employment Exchange, Lahore" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Social Work, The Panjab University, 1956).

¹⁷ "Socio-Economic Research Project," Lahore, University of the Panjab, Mimeographed Report, February 2, 1958, p. 47.

family system will undergo even more rapid change with the land reforms proposed by the new government of General Ayub Khan.

Many young men and women, especially those who have had training abroad, return with new ideas. These young people do not want to live in the joint families under the binding authority of their parents, and many select their own marriage partners against the traditional system of arranged marriages and revolt against the *pardah* system and the segregation of sexes. In fact, the educated professional class finds itself unable to reconcile the acquired values of the scientific approach, freedom to criticize authority, and individual initiative with traditional culture, which requires nonrational responses, obedience to authority, and subordination of the individual.

Pakistan is a land of complex problems that do not lend themselves to easy solutions. Many governments, unable to make a balanced and well-conceived approach to the socioeconomic needs of the people, have failed, resulting in political instability in the country. There has been a serious lack of competent national leadership and qualified personnel, which the successful conduct of government demands. To point out the shortcomings of leadership in Pakistan and the multitude of problems which face the nation is not to imply complete condemnation, however. These conditions find their antecedents in history. There are very few people in Pakistan today who have been prepared by background and training for the roles which they are called upon to assume.

Despite the existence of these and other problems in the nation, an accurate appraisal of the present situation leads one to the conclusion that there have been many noticeable and worth-while changes in the traditional observances and institutions of Pakistani society. One most notable factor, as mentioned before, is the change in the attitudes of the people that has occurred during the past decade. With the growth of social awareness, their approach toward various problems has become and is becoming much more realistic and positive at every level. The hypothesis is suggested that in so far as the family and other social institutions undergo a transition in their hierarchical, patriarchal, and authoritative forms, change and progress in the realm of ethical values and attitudes will become more evident. Inasmuch as many of these interactional situations are undergoing changes, the future is likely to bring a more secularized type of structure like the modern Euro-American societies with their concomitant values.

SELECTED SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPTS FOR BEGINNING STUDENTS IN SOCIOLOGY

EMORY S. BOGARDUS
University of Southern California

The beginning student in sociology finds himself face to face with a new set of concepts. Some texts do not define these new terms, except perhaps in technical language that is baffling to the beginner.

The following concepts are explained on the level of training of the freshman and sophomore in college. The definitions that are given represent a standard approach, although no two sociologists would give exactly the same definitions (an indication that sociology is still a young social science). With reference to the selection of sociological concepts that has been made here, it may be noted that again no two sociologists would agree regarding which concepts are standard ones.

It is to be hoped that the beginner will find his introduction to sociology made more understandable by the following treatment of concepts in sociology. Later, he can consider more technical analyses of these terms. For the sake of convenience, the arrangement in the following pages is alphabetical. A total of 52 concepts is presented in this report.

Accommodation is a process of adopting new personal behavior patterns, involving the making over of established ways of behaving. It means at least an outward acceptance and performance. It may be a means of furthering peaceful activities and of avoiding unnecessary conflicts. It may be temporary or permanent. In the latter case it may merge into assimilation. It is also defined more broadly to include such methods of adjusting differences as compromise, arbitration, submission.

Assimilation is a process of permanently accepting a new idea, viewpoint, or procedure and integrating it into one's ways of doing and thinking. It involves a greater or lesser modification of a person's previously held attitudes and values. An immigrant, for example, becomes assimilated into the patterns of doing and thinking of the people of an adopted nation when he accepts those patterns as his own, and gives up some of his previously followed patterns. Assimilation calls for a change in the immigrant's loyalties. It usually involves a slow change of attitudes. The process cannot be forced. It cannot be compelled by laws or threats. New loyalties may best be developed under conditions that are more agreeable than one's experiences in previous situations. Assimilation may result in a fusion of cultures.

An *attitude* is an established tendency of a person to act for or against some person, idea, object, or institution. It involves a behavior pattern (or patterns) that is set for action and that is awaiting an appropriate stimulus to release it. The behavior pattern is the outward expression of an attitude. An attitude may be either favorable or unfavorable, for or against something. A number of integrated attitudes may constitute a viewpoint, and a number of integrated viewpoints may become melded into a philosophy of life.

Communication is a social process of conveying meanings by the use of appropriate symbols. Communication calls for a symbol-using person and a responding person who understands the given symbols. The meaning-bearing symbols may be (1) pantomimic, such as the use of the hands, shoulders, feet, the whole body; (2) they may be facial, such as expressions of the eyes, the mouth, the whole face; (3) they may be vocal and verbal, whistling, growling, a spoken language or dialect; (4) they may be written, such as pictographic (pictures of objects or of motion), ideographic (pictures of ideas), phonographic (pictures of sounds, e.g., some letters of an alphabet); (5) they may be art forms, namely, paintings, music, sculpture, and so on. The symbol is usually a cutoff act (Mead), that is, the beginning of an act that is stopped as soon as its meaning seems to be clear. Without communication there could be no social life. In recent years communication often takes place by means of mass media.

The *community* is a large group of people who understand and share some social values in common. It has an underlying unity of goals. It requires the use of the same communication symbols bearing mutually understood meanings. It may have regional limits and be a "locality group," but its essence is in a common understanding of some aspects of life. It is composed of both primary and secondary groups functioning in one over-all field of activities. *Community organization* is the social structure of a community, including rules, regulations, institutions by which people carry on their community life together.

Competition is a social process of striving to obtain possession of the same object or objects by two or more persons, or by two or more groups. A common illustration is two or more stores on the same street competing for the same consumer business. Persons or groups may compete for the same spiritual objects. Competition may be constructive, as in the case of two farmers competing to see who can raise the most corn per acre; or it may be destructive, as in the case of two duelists.

Conflict is a social process in which persons or groups are engaged in opposing each other, as well as in contending to obtain possession of something. It is a clashing of two sets of social forces not unduly different in strength. If they are greatly different in power, then one annihilates the other, bowls it over, swallows it up, and there is no conflict. The conflict may take place on the basis of mental abilities and aims, as, for example, management-labor conflicts, Republican-Democratic Party conflicts, white-collar people conflicts. Conflicts may be long drawn out, continuous, and interminable.

Cooperation is a social process in which persons or groups having similar goals work together to reach these goals. It is a working together from different angles to meet a common need, as in the case of a consumers' cooperative. A university illustrates the cooperation of faculty, administration, trustees, students, and alumni to further educational ends. In another way, a father and mother illustrate cooperation in raising a family. Without cooperation, social institutions could not be organized, no social group could develop, and human life could not long survive.

A *culture pattern* is an objective expression of a uniform way of doing or thinking of a large number of people. It is a tangible expression of an established and widely accepted social value. The sum total of the culture patterns of a people is their civilization. Culture patterns include what Sumner called *folkways*, or the ways of doing of a folk or people, and the *mores*, that is, those folkways which are considered essential for a folk's welfare. A *cultural heritage* includes all the behavior patterns (representing attitudes and values) that a human being is born into and that exert influences upon him from his earliest days. Sometimes one portion of a group's culture patterns changes more slowly than other portions do, and the result Ogburn called *cultural lag*. Culture patterns that express emotional aspects of life change more slowly, as a rule, than those that reflect practical considerations, such as ways of earning a living.

Deviant behavior is action by a person that is not in line with what is generally acceptable behavior in a given group. It may run counter to the moral standards or the legal rules. It may represent personal attempts to take advantage of others in terms of physical violence, negation of rights of property or of life. It may represent conscientious sacrifice of personal freedom in order to challenge what a group of individuals believe unjustifiable, such as taking lives in war. Behavior on the part

of youth that violates the community's mores is *delinquency*, and similar deviant behavior of adults is *crime*, especially behavior that violates the written and accepted laws.

The *group* is any number of persons in interaction. The *small group* varies from two to a dozen persons in more or less close and regular interaction. There is enough similarity in attitudes and values to hold the members together in some kind of common activity for a period of time. A group that exerts a primary influence in shaping the attitudes and values, the interests and ideals of the members was called by Cooley a *primary group*. The family group, the play group, a clique, a "gang" are examples of primary groups which, because of their face-to-face relationships, are influential in shaping the likes and dislikes of persons, especially of children.

A *person* is a human being with status in some social group. *Personality* is the integration of a person's attitudes and values. It may also be viewed as the organization of the behavior patterns of a person. A person is the basic unit in any group. The interaction of person with person within a group is the major subject matter of sociology. The organized interactions of a number of persons are the essence of a group. A behavior pattern resulting from interactions is a unit of sociological research.

Propaganda is the presentation of one side of a proposal, often at the expense of the other side; or of the advantages of one proposal at the expense of all other proposals. It may indulge largely in conclusions as established facts, and insist upon their blind acceptance. It is a powerful weapon that may be used in a political campaign to push forward the interests of one candidate at the expense of the others. That type of advertising in which certain goods are extolled out of all relations to their merits is another expression of propaganda.

Public opinion is a joint way of thinking by a large and loosely organized group of people about some aspect of social living. It may be *majority opinion*, which is a way of thinking of over half of a voting group, or a *minority opinion*, the voice of less than half of a group. It may be a *preponderant* opinion, where nearly all of a group traditionally think a certain way, as in the United States, where monogamy is generally accepted without ever having been voted on. It may be a *consensus opinion*, which is reached not by a for and an against vote, but by common agreement after all sides of an issue have been considered. It is formed not by debating the issue, but by seeking all the facts and allowing the result to fall where it may. Public opinion presupposes some measure of personal freedom in thinking.

A *race* is a subdivision of mankind characterized by distinct culture systems, including a language, which have been learned and which are subject to change. It may include visible distinctions, such as color of the skin, but these are superficial traits in comparison with attitudes and values.

Segregation is the separation in one or more aspects of life of one social group from another. *Racial segregation* is separation of people on the basis of their differences in color or customs, or both. It is usually enforced by the racial group that considers itself superior to other racial groups. It is enforced chiefly by group or public opinion, supported sometimes by legal restrictions. It is fostered by a racial group as a means of protecting its own status and identity. *Desegregation* is the removal of barriers to social interaction between racial or other groups.

Social change is a modification in the structure or functioning, or both, in any human relationship. It results in the altering of the attitudes and values of the members of a group. It may be either constructive or destructive. It may be planned or unplanned. An invention may result in social change, or a severe earthquake may produce changes in human living, as did the earthquake that jolted down most of the city of Antigua, Guatemala, in 1773. Extensive social changes over a period of time are a form of *social evolution*. Those changes that occur or that seem to occur suddenly constitute *social revolution*.

Social control is regulation by a group of the behavior of its members. It is also the regulation by an over-all group of its member groups and of the members of these constituent groups. In a democratic society, it is exercised through laws and public opinion; in an authoritarian society, it is expressed through the fiat of dictators supported by a power elite class. Too much social control stifles personal initiative, and leads to member unrest and sometimes to revolution. Too little social control brings about social disorder and possibly anarchy. Social control is a process that is expressed through *social controls* which consist of any stimuli arising in human interaction that affects any member's behavior. They are unlimited in number. They function continuously in any group life. Individual laws and any expressions of group and public opinion are the more tangible forms of social controls.

Social distance is the degree of sympathetic understanding that functions between person and person, person and group, group and group. At any given time the social distance between the members of any of the foregoing categories may be found at a given point along a continuum extending from short social nearness to long social farness. It is subject

to change at any time. It may be either horizontal distance between friends of the same class; or vertical, between leader and followers, or between higher and lower classes. A social distance scale is a device for measuring the relative degree of sympathetic understanding that exists between persons and persons, persons and groups, and between groups.

Social forces are the dynamic aspects of interperson and intergroup relations that lead people to work together or against each other in order to attain certain ends. In the simplest terms, social forces include integrations of desires, of basic wishes such as those suggested by Thomas (for recognition, response, security, new experience), of interests as proposed by Small and others (in wealth, health, knowledge, sociability, aesthetics, rightness, and religion). They are sometimes referred to as motivations. They are engaged in seeking ends, goals, values.

A *social institution* is an established organization of attitudes and values designed to meet human needs, possessing a definite social structure. Its form changes more slowly than its meaningful content. Institutions may be the chief conserving agencies in human society. They represent well-tried procedures. They may lose their original meanings and develop new ones. Well-known institutions are the family, the school, the state, the church, and so on.

Social mobility is the movement of persons from one class to another, or from one status level to another. Horizontal mobility is illustrated by the movement of persons from one occupation to another of the same status level. Vertical mobility is the movement of a person from one status level to another level, as in the case of the member of a group who becomes the leader of that group. Mobility may take the form of migration from one part of a country to another part, or from one country to another.

A *social movement* is the bringing to the fore of a new organization of attitudes and values. An illustration is the woman suffrage movement in the United States, beginning about 1848 in the speaking and organizing abilities of a number of women leaders. It ran a course of successes and failures, and culminated in 1920 in the passage of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States that gave women the vote. It had a life of about 72 years and ran through a series of stages and transitions.

Social organization is the working arrangement embodied in rules and institutions supporting an accepted universe of attitudes and values. It is a working arrangement for carrying forward the group's desires. It directs and to a degree circumscribes the activities of the group's mem-

bers. It is the social structure by which a group works and lives together. Within its framework people make a living, acquire knowledge, worship, and so forth. It finds expression, in part, in the agencies of social control. It implies a community of interests. In its largest sense it involves an underlying and integrated social theory, as found in Old China with its family-clan-village type of social organization, or in current United States with its individualistic-family-industrial type. *Social disorganization* is the breakdown of some part of the social structure of a group; it calls for a new type of social functioning.

Social process is a sequence of social movements with their stages and transitions in the life of human society. In its broadest sense, it is a whole world of people in their striving, for example, toward survival, or in their struggle for permanent peace. In a particular sense, *social processes* are aspects of social change, such as competition, conflict, cooperation, assimilation, or socialization.

A *social role* is a part played by a person in each situation in which he finds himself in various group connections. In one group he may play a liberal-belief role; and in another group he may play a conservative-belief role. The roles he plays may be as different as the types of groups to which he belongs. Because they may contradict one another, they may get a person into embarrassing positions. They are continually subject to the diverse drives and standards of the different group-situations. They may lead to mental conflicts within an individual, and social misunderstandings within groups.

A *social situation* is the totality of interactions of a number of persons that involves a conflict of some sort. It is a configuration of conflicting attitudes and values within a social field of cooperation. It involves past personal experiences and current role-playing. A simple example is found when two persons strive for the same object. *Defining the situation* is the way each person interprets his role and the role of each other person in a social situation.

Social status is the standing or recognition given a person by other persons. It makes anybody a somebody. The loss of status means that a somebody may become a nobody. A person's priceless treasure is to be thought well of by at least a few other persons. Without it, life is hardly worth living. A person has as many levels of status as he has social levels of acquaintances, friends, and loved ones. A person may at one and the same time have a different status in different groups (according to their values). He may have high status and security in one group and

low status and insecurity in another group. Status may include both reputation and prestige: reputation is usually good or bad (ethical), while prestige may be high or low (social psychological).

Social stratification is the division of a large group into classes. It usually results in three major classes (and their subdivisions) in Western society, namely, upper, middle, and lower. Stratification may take place on the basis of economic status. Family prestige may play a large role. Stratification may be rigid and allow no social mobility, as illustrated by a caste society. It may function somewhat loosely and allow persons to climb out of one class into a higher one. A *social class* is a large group of people holding similar attitudes toward such an objective factor as economic wealth, and possessing similar living standards.

Social structure is the organizational framework which gives form to any group activity. It is based on deep-seated agreement in attitudes and values. It limits, gives shape to, points up the functioning of a group. It tends to lag behind the changing functional needs of a group, and may become so firmly established in the beliefs of a group that it does not yield to needed change in its nature and hence may hinder group development. A group needs to provide for change in its social structure, and may do so through provisions in its constitution and by-laws or in its unwritten traditions.

A *social value* is anything which a number of persons strive to win and keep. It is a unit of the culture of a group. It arouses desire for possession. A positive value to one person may be a negative one to another. A value is the objective of an attitude. A number of related values functioning together constitute a *value-system*, such as democracy. Every person has or belongs to a number of value-systems, which throw light on the nature of his personality. Every group has or belongs to a number of value-systems, which indicate the nature of the given group. At any time every value-system is subject to change.

Socialization is a comprehensive process of learning to understand and to participate in the activities and aims of a society. It develops a person's capacity to act together with others toward the attainment of commonly desired goals. It is identifying one's self with social purposes. It does not make people alike, but enables them to combine their different aptitudes in seeking given goals. A group as well as a person may experience socialization, and adjust its activities to those of the larger groups of which it is a part. A nation becomes socialized to the degree

that it participates freely in the activities promulgated by international law. Sometimes the concept is used to bring an ethical connotation of behavior that promotes human welfare.

It should be kept in mind that all of the foregoing 52 concepts are undergoing change. Each is subject to modification in line with the results of the latest empirical research findings.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

The *International Population Conference* met in Vienna from August 28 to September 4, 1959, under the auspices of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population. The meetings revolved mainly about the themes of fertility, mortality, morbidity, and migration. Simultaneous translation into the three working languages, English, French, and German, made for successful communication. Socially speaking, the outstanding event was the reception by the Mayor and other officials of the city at the Rathaus. Of approximately 200 participants, some 30 were from the United States. Georges Sabagh of the University of Southern California presented a paper on "Differential Mortality in a Hospital for the Mentally Retarded."

The *International Sociological Association* held its triennial meetings at Stresa, Italy, from September 8 to 15, 1959. The convention was formally opened in Milan at the new Assembly Hall of the Province of Milan. The first plenary session was at the State University of Milan, during which Robert E. Merton spoke on certain aspects of the sociology of knowledge and Raymond Aron presented a summary of some of the national reports on the status of sociology in their respective countries. M. Aron asserted that, while most of the reports (British, French, German, Latin American) showed dissatisfaction with the state of their sociology, the American and the Russian seemed fairly smug by comparison. The representatives from Eastern Europe protested these remarks, and as a result, a special session on Marxist sociology was organized.

Except for the opening day, the meetings were held in Stresa. The first two days of working meetings were generally concerned with "The Applications of Sociological Knowledge," which included sections on Industry, Agriculture, Education, Urban and Regional Planning, Mass Communications, Population, Planning and Administration of Social Services, Ethnic Relations, Family, Leisure, and Medicine. These were followed by a plenary session on "Methodology" addressed by Rene Koenig, Paul Lazarsfeld, and Jean Stoetzel, followed in turn by a number of discussion groups on the subject. In addition, there were sections on the Sociology of Religion, Sociology of Knowledge, and Political Sociology. The final meetings were devoted to "Sociological Aspects of Social Planning." In addition to the formal sessions, various

Italian government facilities made possible a number of festivities, including a command performance of the La Scala ballet and a reception at the Villa d'Este.

Of some 800 participants over 150 were Americans. Among those attending from the Pacific Coast were: Reinhard Bendix, Donald Cressey, Sanford Dornbusch, Robert E. L. Faris, Harold Garfinkel, Otto Larsen, Frank Lee, Walter Martin, Calvin Schmid, and Ralph H. Turner.

ROBERT C. WILLIAMSON
Los Angeles City College

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

University of Arizona. Raymond A. Mulligan has assumed the position of acting head of the Sociology Department. Sanford W. Shoults has joined the faculty with the rank of associate professor. He will be in charge of a new program in police administration. Robert B. Rowan and James Officer have joined the staff with the rank of instructor. Pauline M. Mahar will become a member of the Department in the spring.

Arizona State University. Ray Jeffrey has returned to the Department after a leave of absence. Fred Lindstrom has been promoted to the rank of associate professor. New members of the Department are Sherman Fitzgerald and John Kunkel. Fitzgerald, formerly at the University of Maryland, has the rank of associate professor; Kunkel, a recent Ph.D. from the University of Michigan, has the rank of instructor.

California Western University. Charles W. Fisher has been appointed chairman of the Department of Sociology. The Department is participating in a graduate curriculum in Human Relations, along with the departments of Psychology, Political Science, Economics, and Business Administration.

Fresno City College. Robert K. Hopson is teaching courses in sociology. Le Roy Just is teaching courses in introductory philosophy in addition to his regular classes in sociology.

University of Idaho. During the second semester, 1959-60, Harry C. Harmsworth will be on sabbatical leave. His classes will be taught by Virgil J. Olson, who is a candidate for the Ph.D. degree at Washington State University. Mhyra S. Minnis will be acting chairman during Dr. Harmsworth's absence.

Montana State University. There are three new members of the faculty. They are Robert J. Dwyer, assistant professor, and Dallas Reed and Thomas Hazard, instructors. Raymond Gold has been promoted to the rank of associate professor; Idris Evans has been promoted to the position of assistant professor. Dr. Gold has received a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to study "The Role of the Clergyman in Community Mental Health." Mason Griff has been granted a one-year leave of absence, during which he will serve as a lecturer at Brandeis University.

Oregon State College. Robert H. Dann, professor emeritus, died August 18, 1959. He had been on the staff from 1927 to 1956. During the past two years he had been visiting professor at the College of the Pacific, Stockton, California. Arthur E. Gravatt, on leave from Willamette University, has joined the staff as a temporary part-time instructor. Also appointed as part-time instructor is Bernard L. McCarthy, formerly on the staff of Wisconsin State College.

San Fernando Valley State College. Pitirim A. Sorokin, professor emeritus at Harvard University, has been appointed visiting professor for the year 1959-60. He will give a seminar in social theory and a course in social and cultural dynamics in the second semester. New members of the Department are Mamoru Iga, who will teach race-relations and culture and personality, and Edmund Carpenter, who will teach anthropology.

Washington State University. Ivan Nye has been elected to a three-year term as editor of *Marriage and Family Living*. James Short has been granted a two-year leave of absence to conduct a research program in Chicago. He has also been promoted to the rank of associate professor. Joel Montague and John Edelefsen have been promoted to the rank of professor. John Lillywhite has been appointed to the Washington Parole Board; he is on leave from the University. Edward Gross has returned from a sabbatical year in Israel, during which he conducted research in industrial sociology. Peter Garobedian has joined the Department as acting assistant professor.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND WELFARE

CHILD WELFARE: PRINCIPLES AND METHODS. By Dorothy Zietz.
New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959, pp. xii+384.

This book begins with a discussion of the concepts of child welfare as they developed first in England and then as influenced by our early colonial heritage. This twentieth-century treatment of child welfare is divided into four parts, each of which is discussed separately. For the student or the casual reader, the outlines of child welfare work since 1930 are especially important, since they enable him to understand the situation as it exists at the present time.

Sections deal with the blind child, the hard-of-hearing, the moron, the neurotic and emotionally disturbed children. One chapter deals with the delinquent and near delinquent. Other sections discuss the problems and methods of caring for dependent and homeless children as well as the children of unmarried mothers.

The Children's Bureau and the various White House Welfare Conferences are appropriately discussed and their general recommendations presented. An omission that many will feel important is the failure to present in full the "Children's Charter" promulgated in 1930. Neither sociology nor social work students should be left ignorant of its incisive provisions.

For good or ill, the statistics covering needs and conditions are not given in tabular form and therefore lose some of their effectiveness. The author gives special emphasis to programs of care and rehabilitation. Fields receiving scant treatment are education, recreational opportunities, and sex education.

The book is intended to serve as a text for appropriate courses in schools of social work.

G.B.M.

POLICE WORK WITH JUVENILES. By John P. Kenney and Dan G. Pursuit. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1959, pp. xxvi+383.

This revised edition of a well-known book on police practice, designed to be of value to police administrators and others in law enforcement and related fields who are concerned with behavioral problems of juveniles, is a handy source of information on a wide range of topics. It gives details regarding the organization and administration of police-juvenile

programs, the individualization of work with juveniles, and the utilization of community agencies and resources in the control and prevention of juvenile deviation. A variety of material is included. It is a distinct contribution to police literature, emphasizing constructive ways of dealing with deviants, the ways police officers can use rehabilitation resources, and how to improve relations between police officers and the individuals they must serve.

It is obviously difficult to present sufficient details to describe the many aspects of the problems of police practice. The data regarding the extent of the problem of juvenile delinquency, the underlying causes of deviant behavior, and the types of offenders are somewhat limited. The chapter on causation lacks systematic organization of the types of data usually included in books on criminology and juvenile delinquency. But as a substantial guide for police practice, which is the chief intent of the book, it is one of the best in the field.

M.H.N.

GUIDANCE IN TODAY'S SCHOOLS. By Donald G. Mortensen and Allen M. Schmuller. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959, pp. v+436.

The authors of this textbook point to the need of an organized guidance program in education in the United States today. They stress the significance of guidance in our democratic society based "upon concern for the worth and dignity of each individual as well as need for his best productive efforts." And they place the responsibility of guidance not only upon the school but also upon political and social leaders and parents.

The book presents four parts to the guidance program, parts which the authors consider essential and interrelated: (1) understanding of each individual by self and others, (2) knowledge of social needs and values in our technological society, (3) specialized guidance services that will assist all pupils to make wise plans and choices and healthy adjustments, (4) provision of challenging educational experiences through curriculum and instruction.

In developing these interrelated and essential parts, the authors define the meaning of guidance, its functions, its techniques and limitations, and the services it includes. They trace its historical development in the American schools and discuss the structure of organized guidance programs from the point of view of administration as well as organization.

The second part of the book traces the development of personality and the techniques that assist in understanding the individual in the home and the community. Later chapters deal with guidance-oriented curricula and with the learning process and group guidance. Other sections of the text discuss basic concepts in counseling, counseling procedures, occupational information in counseling, and referral sources. Evaluations and suggestions for improvement of guidance programs, case studies, lists of films, and other important data add to the value of this book in the study of guidance in our schools of today.

CECIL EVVA LARSEN

THE COLLEGE COOPERATIVE STORE. By Lyman Powell. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, College of Law, 1959, pp. 19 (mimeographed).

Under the supervision of Professor A. Ladru Jensen, former chairman of the American Bar Association Committee on Cooperative Law, the author has made a study of ten of the largest cooperative stores in universities in the United States. Five of these did a business, in the past operating year, of over \$1,000,000 each. It is pointed out that "student cooperative enterprises... can consistently reduce most school and living expenses (aside from the inevitable tuition) by 10 per cent or more." It is further explained that "the college cooperative stores are owned by consumers who receive a refund in proportion to the amount of their purchases," and that the cooperative principle, rather than being socialistic, "is nothing other than the old-fashioned 'do it yourself' pioneer spirit."

E.S.B.

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF CRIMINAL POLICY: New York: United Nations, No. 14, April, 1959, pp. 165.

The leading articles, in English, deal with "Problems of Prison Labour in Under-developed Countries," "System of Prison Labour in Selected Countries of Asia and the Far East," and "The Implementation in Pakistan of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners." These depict developments in prison labor policies and rules for the treatment of offenders. The major portion of this issue presents reports of various international conferences and committee work designed to improve the treatment of criminals and the prevention of crime.

M.H.N.

FAMILY AND CLASS DYNAMICS IN MENTAL ILLNESS. By Jerome K. Myers and Bertram H. Roberts. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959, pp. xi+295.

This book constitutes the final report of the second part of a study of social class and mental illness in the New Haven, Connecticut, area. The first part of the study was reported in *Social Class and Mental Illness* by August B. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958). *Family and Class Dynamics in Mental Illness* is focused upon (1) the social factors involved in the personality development of a sample of fifty schizophrenic and psychoneurotic persons of two social classes and (2) the relationships among mental illness, social mobility, and social class in the same fifty cases.

The twenty-five schizophrenic cases which constituted the "experimental" group and the twenty-five psychoneurotic cases which constituted the control group for this project were selected from patients appearing for treatment at six private and public psychiatric hospitals and clinics. The decision to use psychoneurotic patients rather than "normal" persons as a control group is well defended in the book. The social class of cases was determined by Hollingshead's ISP (three factors: residential area, occupation, and education). The cases selected for study were from classes III (twenty-six persons) and V (twenty-four persons). Each case study involved at least three interviews with the patient, several interviews with at least two members of the patient's family or orientation, and interviews with the married patients' spouses.

It is not possible to report all the findings of this research here; however, it must be remarked that many significant differences were found among the four categories of persons. Some of these differences were in intrafamilial role relationships, sex role development, pressures of the environing society, and attitudes toward psychiatric illness and the therapy process. It was of interest to note the finding that mobility appeared to be involved in the development of psychiatric disorders of class III cases but not class V cases, and that in class III cases it was a more powerful factor among the schizophrenics than among the psychoneurotics.

The primary research which this book reports adds to the development of sociological theory in several areas. It also will probably have findings that will be useful to clinicians in other fields.

T.E.L.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND PEACE. Some Viewpoints. By Albin Johansson. Chicago: The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 1959, pp. 60.

Out of a wealth of highly successful experiences as an outstanding leader in the consumer cooperative movement in Sweden and in the growth of international cooperation involving the democratic countries of the world, the author points the way for what he considers might well be the next steps in the development of world-wide organization of consumers in cooperatives. He sets forth important views on consumer cooperation as related to world oil deposits, patent grants and patent legislation, technical research and invention by cooperatives, and world peace.

The author points out how there can be no real consumer cooperative movement in those countries in which the consumer is denied the right to offer opposition to the government's decrees. In "democratic capitalist countries" the cooperative movements can protect the consumers against monopolies. In all countries "sellers are dependent on the buyers," while the buyers have at their disposal, if they will organize cooperatively, "an aggregate financial power which largely succeeds that of any monopoly." If lesser developed countries would turn over their oil deposits to cooperative oil companies, world peace would be enhanced. With the development of a world economic order "not on barriers, restrictions and prohibitions..." but on "a system satisfying our sense of justice, people would be educated to be good citizens of this new world."

E.S.B.

COMPREHENSIVE MEDICAL INSURANCE. A Study of Costs, Use, and Attitudes Under Two Plans. By Odin W. Anderson and Paul B. Sheatley. New York: Health Information Foundation, 1959, pp. vi+105.

This monograph reports on the results of a study of two matched sets of members of Group Health Insurance (New York), "which permits its rollees free choice of physicians and reimburses physicians in accordance with a payment schedule," and of Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, "which provides care to its enrollees without charge at any of 31 medical groups and which within each panel group allows free choice of a family physician." The members of both groups receive "identical Blue Cross hospital benefits." While the two samples were matched as to "age, sex, family size, and educational level," the data

"cannot be generalized in terms of the total membership" of either insured group. The possibility of errors creeping into this survey seemed to have been great, yet some general observations may be tentatively made, for example, the costs to the subscribers appear to have been a little higher for the members of Group Health Insurance, and the satisfaction with the services received seemed to have been a little greater for the same group than for the members of the Health Insurance Plan. More research in this field is needed, and further development in plans to help people meet the increasing expenses of illness are urgent. Likewise, the need for training individuals from childhood in methods of keeping well and of preventing illness is of primary importance to individuals and to the nation.

E.S.B.

THE PRISONER'S FAMILY: A STUDY OF FAMILY COUNSELING IN AN ADULT CORRECTIONAL SYSTEM. By Norman Fenton. Palo Alto, California: Pacific Books, 1959, pp. xiii+140.

That a prisoner's relationship with his family is an important factor in the treatment process has long been recognized, but few studies have been made to ascertain the effectiveness of family counseling in an adult correctional system. This project, conducted in the California state prison system, is the first broad endeavor to bring guidance and counseling techniques into play between prisoners and their families, and to assess the effectiveness of such counseling. Institutional staff members and employees, social workers in public and private agencies, and others participated in the project, which was subsidized by the Rosenberg Foundation and represents an experiment in the effectiveness of more intensive counseling of both prisoners and the members of their families.

M.H.N.

PEOPLES AND CULTURE

THE INTEGRATED CLASSROOM. By H. Harry Giles. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959, pp. xi+338.

This is a source book relating to one of the most serious and baffling problems facing the nation today—the problem of racial integration in the classrooms of the public schools.

The author has gathered data from various sources: sociology, psychology, historical and legal records, newspapers, and personal inter-

views with adults, teen-agers, and children. Information was also obtained from teachers, principals, and superintendents living in thirteen states, in response to a survey of day-to-day situations.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first section the author explores community reaction to the Supreme Court Decisions of 1954 and 1955. This report of community reaction includes the Negro's points of view, the young white people's ideas on group differences, the thirteen states' review of the problems and procedures involved in the introduction of classroom racial integration. The author discusses the basic questions involved in the conflicting points of view in the sources studied, and the urgent need to reevaluate the objectives and aims of education in relation to the social policy of the United States as stated in the Constitution.

In another section the author analyzes various factors in the American way of life: (1) diversity and the American ideal; (2) differences in the heredity, culture, and learning of the American people; (3) the origins and effects of social attitudes, particularly those involved in prejudices that lead to social discrimination and conflict; and (4) the educational significance of the social sciences in relation to eliminating school problems.

In concluding chapters, the author points to the fact that the integration conflict of today is unusual only in its specific aspects, for controversy is not new in education. The public schools in the United States were established after a long and bitter struggle. The years between then and now have been marked by controversy after controversy stemming from social change in ways of living. Suggestions for teachers of integrated classes—suggestions that include curriculum, materials, and teaching aids—are included in the last section of the book.

CECIL EVVA LARSEN

FOLKWAYS. A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals. By William Graham Sumner. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1959, pp. vii+692.

An excellent testimony to the classic nature of Sumner's work on folkways is the appearance of this reprinted edition over a half century after the first edition was published in 1906. The twenty chapters and the 728 numbered sections are packed with materials about the culture patterns of preliterate peoples that stand up well for the most part under present-day scrutiny. For an inexpensive edition (\$2.49), the book is well printed.

E.S.B.

THE NEGRO PRESS RE-EXAMINED. Political Content of Leading Negro Newspapers. By Maxwell R. Brooks. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1959, pp. 125.

Instead of studying newspaper contents by using a ruler and reporting findings in terms of inches, the author uses symbols according to the content in each of three sections of the newspapers studied, namely, personal columns, news, and editorial sections. The unit of comparison was the article, and a panel was selected to develop a stabilized list of 42 symbols, 20 of which were judged to be in keeping with the American creed and 22 as being opposed to American values.

Five Negro newspapers, with the largest circulation in the United States, were selected for study. They represented 80 per cent of the circulation of all Negro newspapers in this country. A mean average of 4.3 symbols of political significance was obtained, with columnists standing at the head of the list with 6.82 symbols per item, and editorials coming next with an average of 5.79 symbols. Of the total symbols recorded, 41.38 per cent were given positive scores and 35.85 negative scores; the remaining were judged to be neutral.

Among the findings are these: The fundamental political concern of these newspapers is "with the promotion of civil liberties and other citizenship rights for the whole population"; there is a "relatively infrequent use of communist symbols," and these "when used were almost entirely unfavorable"; comments in editorials were "very favorable to the American people and to the American ideals," but sharply disapproving "of America as a social system." This is a scholarly work, the methods of which may well be followed in studies of other important aspects of racial and related problems.

E.S.B.

LA VIDA RURAL URUGUAYA. By Daniel D. Vidart. Montevideo: Departamento de Sociología Rural, 1955, pp. 196.

The author, head of the Department of Rural Sociology in the Ministry of Cattle-Raising and Agriculture, states frankly that he has made no attempt to present a scientific treatise, an impossible task in a country where there is a paucity of statistical data. Rather, he is presenting a series of essays, admittedly subjective, on themes related to rural sociology in Uruguay, in the hope that research in this field will be stimulated.

The subject matter of the twenty-two essays ranges from lyrical descriptions of the landscape, and its effect on the temperament and economic habits of the population, to a discussion of the effect of ethnic elements in the formation of the national character.

Mr. Vidart's principal thesis seems to be that Uruguay's best interests will be served if major emphasis is placed on cattle-raising, not only as the chief prop in the national economy, but also as the industry most consonant with the traditional way of Uruguayan life.

La Vida Rural Uruguaya describes the conflict between rural and urban areas, and their mutual fear and distrust, treated so often in River Plate literature. This particular work is weighted very heavily in favor of the rural interests, especially those of the cattle-raising industry.

DOROTHY MCMAHON

University of Southern California

THAILAND. *An Introduction to Modern Siam.* By Noel F. Busch. Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1959, pp. ix+166.

A fact of special interest about Thailand is that it has never been a colony of any foreign power. Except for a short period of domination by Japan during World War II, the Thais have been free over the centuries to develop a distinctive culture. Originally the region was occupied by aborigines. The history of Thailand begins about 650 A.D. with freedom-loving immigrant peoples from Yunnan, China. While Chinese strains are strong in modern Thais, many other racial groups are represented. The amiability of the Thais is noteworthy. Bangkok, the capital, is the seat of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, and of regional offices of important United Nations Agencies. Communist parties exist, but illegally. Buddhism, with ethical teachings similar in certain respects to those of Christianity, is widespread. Thai fondness for pastimes is noted, especially for golf played successfully by teams ranging up to sixteen persons. Many other interesting culture patterns of the Thais are reported in this well-written book.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL THEORY AND RESEARCH

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY. By Margaret Wilson Vine. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1959, pp. xvii+350.

As an intended text for undergraduate students in sociology, and offering a brief introduction to sociological theory from Comte to the present, this book has one great merit, notably its clearcut decisive style. Well organized and patterned, its essentials are nicely presented with reference to the sociologists discussed. As chosen by Dr. Vine, these are the main concerns of her selected sociological thinkers, namely, (1) the person as a social unit, (2) social forces and processes, (3) social structures, (4) persistence of social structures, (5) social change, and (6) methodology. Chosen for specific chapter study are: Comte, Spencer, Ward, Sumner, Tarde, Durkheim, Cooley, Ross, Veblen, Max Weber, W. I. Thomas, Pareto, Sorokin, and Toynbee.

Since social process is supposedly emphasized under number two above, it is strange that neither Small nor Simmel, both of whom emphasized process, was given a chapter. But, for that matter, social process is not adequately treated in the text. Moreover, MacIver, Becker, Znaniecki, and Blumer are given but scant attention, and the name of Ellwood does not even appear in the index. Aside from this shortcoming, the text is always interesting; and the chapter on Max Weber is particularly good in spite of the difficult task of reducing Weber's thought to the nice simplicity obtained.

M.J.V.

CRIMINOLOGY AND PENOLOGY. By Richard R. Korn and Lloyd W. McCorkle. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1959, pp. xii+660.

This text is about evenly divided between criminology and penology, toward both of which the authors' intention has been to apply the scientific method in terms of frames of reference, problems, facts, and theories. The topical coverage includes most of the concepts and theories that have become traditional in introductory courses on criminology as offered in the sociology curriculum. It is to the credit of the authors—one a sociologist and the other a psychologist—that they have attained such a measure of freedom and freshness in their organization of materials and in their style of discussion that the contents of the book have a new life. The book may well be described as incisive, readable, and thought-provoking.

The authors' avowed interest in ascertaining the foundations for a *science* of criminology and penology per se may be subject to question. If scientific methods can be applied in sociology, they can be applied to divisions or segments of sociology; thus considered, sociology constitutes a social science, but separate branches or parts of sociology do not constitute separate sciences. This new text on criminology should be welcomed as a fine contribution to the literature of sociology.

J.E.N.

THE UNDIRECTED SOCIETY. By Geoffrey Vickers. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959, pp. viii+162.

The five essays comprising this book were delivered as addresses or precirculated papers during a three-year period, 1956-1958, by Sir Geoffrey Vickers before a round-table project organized by the School of Social Work of the University of Toronto. Entitled *Man and Industry*, the object of the round table was to explore the impact of Canada's rapid industrialization on the well-being of the individual. Sir Geoffrey, acting as consultant to the round-table conferences, succeeded in focusing attention on four areas in which claims have been made that industrialization is a threatening force to human well-being. These are: (1) the destabilizing impact on the physical and social environment and on the inner coherence of the individual; (2) the criteria by which the impacts are judged good or bad; (3) an analysis of adaptation as exemplified in the development of men and societies; and (4) the more important aspects of the industrial predicament as far as human beings are concerned, partly implying that industrialization offers abundance and leisure with one hand and with the other, often frustrates the enjoyment of these. It "changes and restricts living space," "divorces social life from the economic," "erodes the structure of expectations," and "changes aspirations and concepts of status and success." A sense of increasing impersonality pervades the spread of greater industrialization which necessitates more care in planning and organization. Moreover, "new forms are needed to bridge the gulf separating the individual man of Western industrial society from the political and economic institutions which increasingly determine the conditions of his well-being." The essays constitute a challenge for all industrial nations in which forces threaten to rule over the destinies of individuals.

M.J.V.

OPINION LEADERS IN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES. By Alfred O. Hero. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1959, pp. 67.

In this Volume VI of "Studies in Citizen Participation in International Relations," the author concludes that the top decision-makers in most industrialized communities are those men who play "a senior role in business, financial, or industrial life." Those "almost never in the top decision-influencing circle" are "clergymen, civic leaders, editors and other top hired men, intellectuals generally, labor leaders," and so on. Second-level leaders are persons who "carry out the decisions" of those on the first level and who act "independently on less important questions." The top-level men rarely read serious periodicals, "such as the *Atlantic* and *Harpers*," but they patronize the news magazines, the better local newspapers, news-and-public-affairs T. V. programs. The general public "derives much of its thinking on international issues from mass media."

Considerable attention is given to "the flow of ideas within groups," to the role of the group leader as one who derives new ideas from outside his group, to the role of the expert. It is pointed out that "very significant changes in public behavior toward international problems" are not "accomplished in a short time through informal interpersonal communication." Ten proposals are made for research on how "attitudes about world affairs are communicated" into and within major groups. This important document is unusually well documented. E.S.B.

FRANKFURTER BEITRAEGE ZUR SOZIOLOGIE: VOL. 7: GRENZEN DER ARBEITSTEILUNG. By Georges Friedmann. Frankfurt on Main, Germany: Europaeische Verlagsanstalt, 1959, pp. xv+219.

The seventh volume is a German translation from the French by Burkart Lutz, and originally was entitled: "Le Travail en Miettes," published by Gallimard in Paris. The author examines critically Taylor's scientific management and argues that Taylor's concepts are inhuman, as they treat man as a "mere appendix" to machines; that they are unscientific and constitute a "short-sighted" method, since they increase the immediate productivity without taking cognizance of the physical and moral needs of the worker; and, above all, that they are uneconomical, as, at long range, productivity tends to decrease as competition may draw the worker into a "better" condition. It seems that Friedmann's critique corresponds with the results of the researches undertaken by the Industrial Research Department of Harvard University. How-

ever, the essential difference between the latter research and Friedmann's seems to be that the Harvard experiment aimed for maximal productivity of labor and manipulation of the labor force, whereas Friedmann gives priority to man above and beyond all considerations of economics and technological problems.

HANS A. ILLING

TEN THOUSAND CAREERS. By Robert L. Thorndike and Elizabeth Hagen. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1959, pp. vii+346.

This book represents a study of 10,000 men originally evaluated as aviation cadets during World War II and evaluated twelve years later in a follow-up investigation focusing on educational and vocational history. Completion of the study was dependent on cooperation from the Personnel Research Laboratory of the Air Force's Human Resources Research Center, the Veterans' Administration, the Educational Research Corporation, the IBM Corporation, and financial support from the Grant Foundation.

Data comprising Phase I (1943) are based on the Aviation Cadet Qualification Examination—an extensive test battery yielding twenty aptitude scores ranging from reading comprehension to finger dexterity, and a comprehensive Biographical Data Sheet containing 112 items. Phase II (1955) utilized a one-page mail-return questionnaire designed to provide information on seven factors related to occupational success and satisfaction; these factors were income, number of persons supervised, self-rated success, self-rated satisfaction, vertical mobility, lateral mobility, and length of time in the occupation. In bringing together the contents of Phases I and II, the investigators first identified 100 separate occupational groups and determined their mean test scores for the entire test battery. Then, biographical data responses were classified for each occupational group. This scheme enabled both inter- and intra-occupational comparisons to be made between 20 test variables and 112 biographical items. Data on the seven factors measuring job success and satisfaction were used to provide a descriptive framework for each occupation.

The book is organized in three main parts. Part I presents an overview of the project, including a description of the population studied, contents of the test battery, procedures for contacting subjects and gathering occupational data, a plan for statistical analysis, and a condensed summary of results. Part II gives a detailed account of material

covered in Part I, with the addition of a discussion regarding the organization and coding of material for machine-handling methods and problems encountered in data analysis. Part III of the book includes a series of chapters presenting the substantive findings for specific occupations. Occupational groups are described, test score profiles for occupations are given, and biographical items that differentiate one group from another are presented.

The authors concluded that personal background items were differentiated almost as distinctly as were scores on aptitude tests. Occupational groups differed with respect to both personal background and test scores; in most instances, patterns were in accord with what would have been expected on the basis of a priori knowledge. Some occupations seemed to be highly specialized in the aptitudes demanded, while others were more general and seemed to have no special aptitude requirements. However, so far as the authors were able to determine from their data, "there was no convincing evidence that aptitude tests or biographical information... can predict degree of success within an occupation..." This work represents a unique and successful research undertaking.

HAROLD G. HUBBARD
Extended Day Division
Los Angeles State College

HOW CHILDREN LEARN TO SPEAK. By M. M. Lewis. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959, pp. 10-143.

A fascinating account of the pattern of speech from the first cries of an infant to those first words of mutual understanding tells how a child earns his passport to humanity. The cry of an infant is the same in all countries and is expressive of the same need—comfort. Thus, language has begun: one person makes a sound which another person interprets.

Upon removal of his discomforts, a child makes throaty sounds of comfort. The difference in consonants used for the sounds of comfort as compared to those of discomfort is described.

Next, a child responds to sounds. Upon hearing his mother's voice, he may smile or make comfort sounds. An unpleasant noise may elicit crying or discomfort sounds. Babbling plays an important role. Through this the infant practices speech sounds. Imitation follows as his babbling becomes more and more like sounds he hears.

Understanding of a spoken word takes place when the child behaves in a distinct and characteristic fashion, relevant to the circumstances in which he hears the word.

This concise volume unfolds the developmental relationships of a child as he learns to speak. The ways in which his needs and feelings are communicated are not a one-way process, but the result of many interactions between the child and the persons with whom he lives. To the scientist who is concerned with the physical, emotional, and social growth from birth through childhood of individuals, an understanding of communication patterns is essential.

HELEN D. MCCREA

ETHICS AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. By Leo R. Ward, Editor, Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959, pp. xiii+127.

This book is a compilation of six articles, each by a different authority. Collectively, their special interests are in sociology, political science, economics, history, anthropology, theology, biology, and psychology. This volume is an outgrowth of conferences held at the University of Notre Dame in the fall of 1957, which brought together outstanding men in various social science specialties and, at the same time, persons who were schooled in philosophy or the philosophical approach to problems.

Ward sets the tone in his foreword: "Specialisms are good, but we are stultified if we cannot learn anything across party lines." It is a plea for "trying to bring ethics and social science together, even if only for a moment. . . each needs the other," and each article makes a unique contribution to the central theme.

David Bidney develops the theme of Cultural Relativism and Absolutism as he examines the positions taken by A.L. Kroeber, Clyde Klukhohn, Durkheim, Melville Herskovits, and others. Provided one accepts the basic assumption that all reality as culturally known is culturally determined, it follows a priori that "all modes of perception and all value judgments are also culturally conditioned, since culture constitutes a closed, self-intelligible system." Culture is seen, therefore, as an absolute reality in the sense that culture is autonomous and independent. All modes of human experience are relative thereto, because they are functions of culture and dependent upon it for their form and content. The syllogism is completed with the conclusion, "Cultural relativism presupposes a theory of cultural absolutism."

The book is to be recommended, for it develops numerous epistemological arguments for continuing the search for what Einstein has called "the harmony in things."

RODGER R. H. LADE

READINGS IN HUMAN RELATIONS. Edited by Keith Davis and William G. Scott. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959, p. xi+473.

The readings in this book all refer to human relations as they exist in the field of industry and not to human relations in other sectors of life. Although some of these are dated and parts might well have been revised by the several authors involved, the selections in general are excellent and are fitted well into the organizational needs of the book. Among the writers whose articles have been included are such well-known contributors as Peter Drucker, Chris Argyris, Joel Seidman, Charles S. Myers, John B. Knox, and Lyndall F. Urwick. There are thirteen chapters beginning with those readings devoted to a philosophy of human relations and ending with those under the caption, "Trends in Human Relations."

The writings chosen are from various disciplines, and these have emphasized "the philosophy, concepts, and principles of human relations, rather than techniques," which is a manifestation of the principle that it is the *Idea* that becomes significant in human affairs. To single out a few of the best and most meaningful as well as helpful articles is difficult, but mention may be made of Peter Drucker's "The Employee Society," Chris Argyris' "The Individual and Organizational Structure," and John B. Knox' "Sociological Theory and Industrial Sociology." There are included with a nicety of precision as introductory notes to some of the chapters, a few historical articles and a few brief selections from fiction.

M.J.V.

NEW FOUNDATIONS FOR INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY. By Melvin J. Vincent and Jackson Mayers. Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1959, pp. vii+456.

Since Melvin J. Vincent began his annual survey, "Labor Under Review," a number of his former students have hoped that he would enlarge his scope to an analysis of the entire social context of industry. This work lives up to our expectations.

Vincent and Mayers present a text that fills a gap in industrial sociology. In comparison with other works in the field, their book deals more adequately with the economic aspects of industrial relations, with the problem of multiple group power relations, and with the impact of automation. Indeed, the balanced and thorough discussion of automation will possibly serve as a standard for future sociology texts.

Perhaps the major contribution of the book is its consistent interpretation of mass industrial society in terms of multiple group relations. This leads to an emphasis throughout on the structuring of power, and to cogent analyses of union-management-government relations, of motivation, and of work setting. Two chapters develop an insightful "theory of the elite," and treat the virtual fusion of top political, military, and business leaders. It is interesting to note that Hunter's recent research tends to support Vincent and Mayers' interpretations.

All major areas of industrial sociology receive attention. Pedagogic assets include the clarity of presentation, the high level of interest maintained throughout, a wide range of bibliographical citations, and a set of discussion questions following each chapter. It is perhaps caviling to ask for more. Yet certain aspects of the book do not come up to its general level of excellence. In particular, the chapter on Mayo appears to be a quixotic tilting with a past adversary, especially in view of its failure to cite the basic document of the Hawthorne Study, Landsberger's penetrating critique, and the current research of Mayo's followers.

Despite this, Vincent and Mayers have written an unusually fine text. The field of industrial sociology will be well served if their book receives the widespread adoptions it deserves.

JOHN T. GULLAHORN
Michigan State University

FAMILY PLANNING, STERILITY, AND POPULATION GROWTH. By Ronald Freedman, Pascal K. Whelpton, and Arthur A. Campbell. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959, pp. xi+515.

A total of 2,713 young married women, between the ages of 18 and 39, were interviewed concerning the past and prospective growth of their families. All women were living with their husbands, or temporarily separated because of the husband's service in the armed forces. These wives were carefully selected, constituting a probability sample of approximately 17 million wives in our national population, representative of the major social, religious, and economic strata in our society. Ninety-one per cent of the women chosen for the sample cooperated in answering questions of a fairly extensive interview schedule. The interviews, lasting from 1¼ to 3 hours each, were conducted in the respondents' homes by 150 women interviewers on the national field staff of the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan.

The decrease of family size in the Western world since a century ago is indicated as a part of the background of the study. However, in the United States there has been an upward trend of births since the 1930's. On the basis of the interviews, the investigators were able to ascertain the number of children American couples of differing backgrounds want and expect, the extent to which their desires and expectations are realized, or are frustrated by sterility or ineffective planning, and the methods of control they use to plan family growth. A considerable proportion of the questions pertained to methods of birth control and the attitudes of the married women toward their use. Most American couples have used contraceptions at some time, but the patterns of fertility planning vary in accordance with religious backgrounds, economic levels, education, and similar variables.

It is not possible in a brief review to summarize the details of such an extensive study; but, according to the overview given by the authors, it is evident that even though fecundity impairments are widespread, they are not very important in determining the course of population trends. Family limitation, in one form or another, is now almost universally approved and practiced widely. While all classes of the American population are coming to share a common set of values about family size, it appears that religious differences—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish—and to some degree the extent of education and the income of the family affect birth rates. However, the consensus on the two-to-four-child family may be an indicator of familistic orientation. If the present family growth plans are continued and realized, the trend of growth of the American population will continue, with possible crests and troughs in the growth curve.

M.H.N.

A STUDY OF LIBERTY. By Horace M. Kallen. Yellow Springs, Ohio: The Antioch Press, 1959, pp. xv+151.

To the long list of inquiries into the twin concepts of "liberty" and "freedom" may be added another work, one which is both intriguing and challenging. The author, in evidencing a keen interest in his subject, sets forth in forceful prose his own thoughts on the matter. In his writings may be seen the strong influence of John Dewey, yet the resultant work is not merely a restatement of that eminent philosopher, but rather, a work which demonstrates the knowledge and scholarship of the

author himself. In encompassing the broad range of sociology and psychology in his discussion, not to mention various of the other sciences, he presents to the reader a scope not generally found in contemporary writings on the subject. From the suggestion that "liberty is a verb and not a noun" to his discussion of the "struggle to keep on struggling," the author challenges the reader and stimulates him to thought of his own.

What is presented is an intensive treatment of a subject critical to all persons, especially those charged with the responsibility of educating the young. Intensive though the treatment may be, its framework is broad enough to be of interest to any member of the behavioral sciences.

One final point should be made. There is little guarantee that the reader will agree with all that the author says, but, in such a treatise as this, perhaps agreement is not the critical factor; rather, the greatest value may be found in the providing of a stimulus to sound logical thinking. In this, the author has succeeded admirably.

HAROLD A. NELSON

Haynes Foundation Fellow

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF GROUPS. By John W. Thibaut and Harold H. Kelley. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959, pp. xiii+313.

Presenting a functionalistic framework for interpersonal relations and group functioning on the basis of a great deal of extant research in group dynamics, this book affords much insight into the process of interaction, and more especially when dealing with dyadic relationships. These relationships would seem to be simple enough and comprehensible at first glance, but there is much that becomes intriguing about them when placed under the analytical scrutiny of the social psychological microscope; and this is just what the two authors have accomplished. There are times when their descriptions might have assumed more simplicity, but their well-formulated summaries at the end of the various chapters remedy this tendency of making a simple fact look like a load of complexity. The first nine chapters deal with the dyad, the last five with the more complex relationships existing in the larger groups. Among the best discussions are those appearing on the rewards and costs involved in dyadic relationships, on the phenomenon of power assumption, on status, and on the functional analysis of roles. The work reveals a thorough knowledge of the research experiments being carried on in group relationships; and such knowledge has been put to commendable and functional usage in preparing the text.

M.J.V.

Sociology and Social Research

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL



Articles in Forthcoming Issues . . .

March-April and later

Sociology of William F. Ogburn	MEYER F. NIMKOFF
Work and Leisure Roles of Youth	J. B. DU TOIT
White Teachers in Desegregated Schools	R. J. DWYER
Subcultures of Families	I. NYE AND E. MACDOUGALL
Attitudes of Guatemalan Students	SOLOMON LIPP
Comparisons in Rates of Social Change	EDWARD GROSS
The Perception of Social Status	THOMAS E. LASSWELL
The Balanced Ethnic Work Group	WOODROW W. SCOTT
Social Distance in Greece	PANOS D. BARDIS
Marriage and Family Living Courses	DOROTHY W. SCOTT
Factors Hindering Mate Selection	KARL M. WALLACE
Cooperatives in Pakistan	JOHN E. OWEN
Sociology of Alfred Weber	RUDOLPH HEBERLE
Historical Outline of Housing	SVEND RIEMER
Sociological Contributions of Znaniecki	THEODORE ABEL
Social Controls in British Race Relations	FRANK F. LEE
The Critical Incident Technique	THELMA BARNES
Reactions of Television Viewers	ALEXANDER RUNCIMAN
Age Differences in Marriage and Divorce in Hawaii	R. C. SCHMITT
Incomplete Socialization	ARNOLD M. ROSE

Articles in Preceding Issue . . .

November-December 1959

Pro-Natal Influences in American Culture	JOHN W. DYKSTRA
Concept of Housing Adequacy	JOHN H. MABRY
Prototypes in Treatment of Delinquency	BESSIE A. MCCLENAHAN
Patterns of Socialization	JACK V. BUEKLE
A Measure of Marital Satisfaction	NATHAN HURVITZ
A Stereotype of the Negro	I. ROGER YOSHINO
The Concept of Gradualism	EMORY S. BOGARDUS



